

SF 157-1203  
JLC/sad

On April 4, 1971, [ ] furnished a report of his activities to NEWTON. [ ] reportedly was then in Paris, France. [ ] indicated he had made contact with delegations representing the Chinese, Koreans, Cubans, and the National Liberation Front (NLF) of South Vietnam. He reportedly had been well received by all and received expressions of solidarity from all for the BPP except for the Chinese, who were non-committal at this time. [ ] had not, as yet, seen the Albanian delegation.

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[ ] in his contacts with these groups, had discussed the current stand of the BPP in relation to the Party's solidarity to the revolutionary peoples of the countries the delegations represented. He had also discussed the factional dispute in the BPP between HUEY NEWTON and former Minister of Information, ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, and all persons contacted by [ ] reportedly sided with the BPP Central Committee, represented by NEWTON, with the exception of the Chinese, who did not, apparently, believe what [ ] had said about CLEAVER.

[ ] further reported that the NLF of South Vietnam considered NEWTON's recent offer of troops as a "beautiful symbolic gesture". This group also requested that the BPP publicly support their efforts for a peace treaty with the United States in relation to the Vietnamese conflict.

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[ ] reportedly had obtained from the NLF of South Vietnam a letter addressed to BOBBY SEALE, Chairman of the BPP, expressing solidarity to SEALE from the NLF and from freedom loving, progressive people, which called for these people to support the courageous struggle of black people against imperialism and racism for peace, equality, and justice. The letter also contained a demand that President NIXON immediately stop the oppression of black people in the United States and set free, at once, any leaders of the BPP, particularly its Chairman, BOBBY SEALE.

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The NLF also expressed gratitude to the BPP for its current struggle against U.S. aggression. [ ] hoped this letter would be published in "The Black Panther".

[ ] also reported he had made contact with the black GIs in Frankfurt, Germany, through their group, "Voice of the Lumpen", but had not yet established a complete rapport with this group as they were not as politically mature as he had hoped.

[ ] requested that NEWTON prepare a letter expressing the solidarity of the BPP to the Indochinese people and also a second letter expressing solidarity or a special message to the black GIs in Germany. He also suggested the re-issuance of a poster by [ ] which depicted a "Lumpen" with a gun and the slogan "Our Fight Is Not Vietnam". [ ] reportedly also suggested that the "Lumpen" write two songs of solidarity directed to the black GIs and to the Indochinese people. [ ] was of the opinion this would have beautiful value for propaganda purposes.

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SF T-2  
April 4, 1971

On April 8, 1971, [ ] contacted NEWTON and expressed his [ ] elation over the great success that his visit to Paris had had. He claimed that he had been able to see "everyone" expect the Albanians, and he was scheduled to see them on April 9, 1971. After that, he felt that he should proceed to Copenhagen, because he had observed a certain hesitancy, not further described, among those formerly the most solid for the BPP. In other words, [ ] said it appeared to him that "ELDRIDGE CLEAVER was up to something". [ ] had no information that CLEAVER was actually up to something but was merely suspicious because of an apparent change in attitude from the northern solidarity group.

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[ ] then went on to say that he did not feel that France was ready to receive NEWTON with the acclaim that was due him. [ ] said that if he (NEWTON) came to France, he felt that he (NEWTON) should be greeted like the head of the state, or at least of the head of a revolutionary government. To receive the appropriate reception much preparation and arrangements would be necessary, and such conditions were not yet an actuality in France. [ ] even fancied that North Vietnamese might want to have NEWTON join in the Paris Peace Talks. In this event, [ ] felt appropriate arrangements could be made, but again would require considerable preparation.

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In this conversation with various "revolutionaries" in Paris, [ ] was told that the true revolutionaries preferred to deal with revolutionaries who were active in the struggle on their home grounds, rather than with revolutionaries who were in exile. It is believed that in this case [ ] was referring to the NEWTON - CLEAVER situation where NEWTON was on homeground and CLEAVER was in exile.

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[ ] said that he had sent NEWTON eight rings from the South Vietnamese NLF for the political prisoners being helped by the BPP. These rings were reportedly made from metal from American airplanes shot down in Vietnam. [ ] decided that he would not proceed to Copenhagen at this time, but should return to the United States and discuss his European tour personally with NEWTON. NEWTON then instructed [ ] to come directly to California to see him.

SF T-2  
April 8, 1971

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F. BPP IDEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE AND "POLITBUREAU"

NEWTON presided at the classes of the BPP Ideological Institute held on January 9, January 16, and January 23, 1971

SF T-2  
January 9-23, 1971

On January 7, 1971, NEWTON instructed [ ] [ ] San Francisco BPP member, to obtain some books for him concerning elements of psychology, anthropology, and physics to be used in connection with the Ideological Institute. [ ] got the books for NEWTON the same date.

SF T-2  
January 7, 1971

On January 10, 1971, NEWTON and [ ] [ ] were discussing the BPP Ideological Institute. At that time NEWTON stated he has been reviewing some books he had previously read concerning philosophy and dialectical materialism, and he now feels they are not very good study materials for the BPP brothers and sisters who are attending the Institute. He remarked that some of the definitions in the books are non-functional, particularly the definitions of logics, empiricism, and rationale. He further commented the books only tell how logics, empiricism and rationale are used and do not tell about the "stuff" they are made out of.

NEWTON also remarked that the books he has read and has assigned for reading by the people attending the Institute are very confusing to the members attending the classes because the books explain logics and "runs down" the process and the system but don't say a thing about the qualities of

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logics, empiricism, and rationale. He continued that the books tell about the system that logics use and dwell on the system rather than actually what logic is made up of. He stated that when teaching the classes he talks about what logics, empiricism, and rationale are made up of and then when the students read the books he has assigned they become confused.

NEWTON further stated that he may end up having to write a basic book on philosophy for use at the Institute and that he would like to lay a foundation with a definitive-type work on the qualities of logics, empiricism, and an explanation of what they really are and what they are made up of.

Titles of some of the books NEWTON is using in preparing his lectures for the Ideological Institute are "Introduction to Dialectical Methods", "Enduring Question" by RADAR and HOLT (phonetic), "History of Materialism", "Theory of Knowledge", and "Materialism and Dialectical Method" by MAURICE CONFORTH. In that regard, NEWTON commented that "Introduction to Dialectical Methods" really helped him understand rationale.

During the conversation between NEWTON and [redacted] [redacted] told NEWTON that he [redacted] had just completed reading an article by a Marxist scholar entitled "Materialism and Idealism in the History of Negro Slavery in the United States" which [redacted] thought would be good reading for the people attending the Institute. [redacted] also stated he hoped he would be able to attend some of the classes held by NEWTON, but he did not know if his schedule would permit him to do so.

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NEWTON said that at the classes to be held at the Ideological Institute on January 16, 1971, he planned to discuss "Mechanical Materialism, Pragmatism, and Existentialism".

SF T-2  
January 10, 1971

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On January 31, 1971, it had been learned that the BPP is considering the creation of a "politbureau" to be composed of top Party leadership and to function above the current Central Committee of the Party. NEWTON had referred to this possibility in his first lecture to BPP leaders at the first class held at the Ideological Institute. NEWTON, however, did not completely explain his definition of the "politbureau".

At the Institute meeting held on January 30, 1971, [ ] presided. Apparently some of the people attending the class raised a question about the "politbureau" which [ ] attempted to explain to those present.

After the meeting, someone inquired about the "politbureau" to [ ] had not attended the session chaired by [ ] on January 30, 1971, and was not clear on the "politbureau" definition himself. [ ] was of the opinion that the "politbureau" was definitely over the Central Committee and was composed of the most politically advanced people in the Party.

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[ ] had apparently discussed the foregoing with [ ] after which [ ] stated he had learned the "politbureau" consisted of the leadership, the founders of the Party, and was the "old guard, rear guard, advance guard and vanguard" of the Party.

NEWTON became angered about the inquiry concerning "politbureau" and immediately contacted [ ] about it. NEWTON ordered that [ ] be immediately suspended, that he return to Los Angeles, and to sever his [ ] relationship with the [ ]. The suspension was to remain in effect until NEWTON later returned to San Francisco. [ ] then attempted to explain to NEWTON that [ ] had not discussed the "politbureau", except to explain it, but this was not accepted by NEWTON inasmuch as [ ] had not attended the Institute meeting himself.

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NEWTON then spoke with [ ] who was in Oakland attending the Institute, and she informed NEWTON that [ ] had merely tried to explain "politbureau" based on an inquiry and stood behind "the most advanced thinkers in the Party".

NEWTON then immediately countermanded his suspension order for [ ] informing [ ] it was cancelled and that [ ]

[ ] Source said that NEWTON specifically instructed, however, that [ ] or JOHN SEALE had to attend the classes at the Institute to insure that NEWTON was not "sabotaged" [ ]

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SF T-4  
January 31, 1971

The BPP Ideological Institute is a type of re-training for BPP leaders, conducted chiefly by NEWTON and with the expressed purpose of re-indoctrinating BPP leaders in NEWTON's interpretation of BPP philosophy such as "intercommunalism".

SF T-35  
February 3, 1971

On February 10, 1971, [ ] told NEWTON that the Ideological class held on February 6, 1971, was very poor inasmuch as the discussion was not guided and the people "went off into tangents". [ ] said that she did not feel that anyone attending the class on February 6th learned anything.

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[ ] continued that the class held on January 30, 1971, was not much better, but she gave no further explanation. She told NEWTON that the discussions held in the two classes had been recorded on tape and that she wants him to listen to the tapes so he can see just how the discussions went. NEWTON indicated he would listen to the tapes if he has the time.

SF T-2  
February 10, 1971

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JLC/sad

On March 2, 1971, NEWTON stated he is going to enlarge the Ideological Institute, with special attention to inviting representatives from Southern states to attend. He said the Institute is designed along Marxist - Leninist lines, and that he intends to introduce his (NEWTON'S) new theory of "Revolutionary Suicide" at the Institute sometime in the near future. NEWTON gave no details of his theory.

SF T-31  
March 2, 1971

As of April 20, 1971, no information has been received that any representatives from any Southern states have been invited to classes instructed by NEWTON.

SF T-2  
SF T-4  
SF T-30  
SF T-31  
March 2, 1971 - April 20, 1971

On March 6, 1971, BPP National Headquarters informed various BPP members in the Oakland area that classes of the Ideological Institute would be held on March 7, 1971, and that NEWTON would be instructing the class.

SF T-2  
March 6, 1971

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JLC/sad

G. INFLUENCE IN SETTLING STUDENT DISRUPTION  
AT MERRITT COLLEGE, OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA

On March 15, 1971, DOUGLAS MIRANDA was in command of a "student coalition" group at Merritt College, Oakland, California, and he directed the seizure of all Merritt College Administrative Offices and facilities at 57th and Grove Streets, Oakland. MIRANDA is a current high-ranking officer of the BPP and has been assigned by HUEY P. NEWTON to the task of controlling the Merritt College Black Student Union (BSU) in the best interests of the BPP.

SF T-32  
March 15, 1971

As of March 19, 1971, there was no indication of any BPP direction of the student strike at Merritt College.

SF T-22  
March 19, 1971

A group of Merritt College activists, both male and female and black and Chicano, met at the residence of NEWTON, 1200 Lake Shore Avenue, Oakland, during the late afternoon and early evening of March 19, 1971. A debate on the future course of action to be taken at Merritt College took place.

SF T-31  
March 19, 1971

On the morning of March 20, 1971, NEWTON advised DOUGLAS MIRANDA that the blacks must take some action to regain control of the situation at Merritt College and that NEWTON was considering contacting the college president and offering

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to take pressure off of the school in exchange for an agreement by the president to drop the suspension of students.

SF T-2  
March 20, 1971

On March 20, 1971, NEWTON decided to contact President NORVEL SMITH of Merritt College in order to make a deal to reinstate suspended students and to endeavor to place all blame for the Merritt College disruption upon Governor RONALD REAGAN and the Academic Senate of the College.

SF T-2  
March 20, 1971

NEWTON conferred with [redacted] on the morning of March 20, 1971, and the comment was made that [redacted]  
[redacted]

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SF T-31  
March 20, 1971

In the mid afternoon of March 20, 1971, NORVEL SMITH, President of Merritt College, appeared at NEWTON's residence and requested NEWTON to use his influence to obtain a cooling off period at Merritt College. NEWTON responded that such a cooling off period would be humiliating to the BPP and not acceptable. SMITH stated he would not call police if suspended students came onto the campus and that if trouble started he would sound the fire alarm, order students home and close the school. SMITH further stated that if Monday was calm at the school he would give credit to the suspended students for their cooperation and would reduce their suspensions to a nominal two weeks. (The suspended students referred to are believed to be [redacted]

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[redacted] all of whom



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are subjects of warrants sworn out by NORVEL SMITH charging that they threatened him in order to prevent his performance of the duties of his office).

SF T-31  
March 20, 1971

During the meeting between NEWTON and NORVEL SMITH on the afternoon of March 20, 1971, NEWTON wanted DOUGLAS MIRANDA and the other suspended students reinstated and charges against them dropped. SMITH refused to drop charges, stating that was out of his hands, but SMITH agreed to reduce the expulsions to suspensions for a short period only.

SF T-22  
March 20, 1971

Following the departure of NORVEL SMITH from NEWTON's residence on March 20, 1971, NEWTON advised MIRANDA that MIRANDA could go on campus and that blacks would be in control of the situation on the campus. NEWTON instructed MIRANDA to "cool" everything on Monday.

On the evening of March 20, 1971, NEWTON contacted PAUL COBB, a black candidate for Oakland City Council in the April, 1971 elections. NEWTON advised COBB that NEWTON wished to have a meeting of Oakland's black political leaders that evening to discuss the Merritt College problem. NEWTON named the following Oakland black political leaders whom he desired to be present:

Attorney JOHN GEORGE

Superior Court Judge LIONEL WILSON

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PERCY MOORE, Director of Oakland's  
primary poverty agency

U. S. Congressman RONALD DELLUMS

SF T-2  
March 20, 1971

On the evening of Sunday, March 21, 1971, PAUL COBB appeared at the residence of NEWTON. No other black political leaders are known to have appeared. NEWTON apologized for not previously involving the leadership of Oakland's black community in the Merritt College situation. NEWTON stated that the BPP's position was that NORVEL SMITH had only done what he had to do. NEWTON claimed that he would get NORVEL SMITH to drop charges against MIRANDA and other suspended black students. NEWTON proposed to COBB that the BPP and leaders of Oakland's black community display a united front on the Merritt College issues.

SF T-31  
March 21, 1971

On the evening of Sunday, March 21, 1971, NEWTON declared that his primary goal was the establishment of BPP control over politicians in Oakland and through them control of the community itself.

SF T-2  
March 21, 1971

NEWTON, in company with [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] DOUGLAS

MIRANDA, appeared on the Merritt College campus at approximately 3:00 PM, Monday, March 22, 1971. NEWTON found NORVEL SMITH

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absent from the campus and contacted President SMITH by telephone. HUEY NEWTON asked SMITH if the latter was satisfied with conditions of calm on the campus. NEWTON further told SMITH that NEWTON was leaving town for a few days but that he was guaranteeing that quiet would prevail on the Merritt College campus during his absence.

SF T-34  
March 22, 1971

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H. MEETINGS WITH BOBBY SEALE

On February 1, 1971, NEWTON attended the trial of BOBBY SEALE and ERICKA HUGGINS in New Haven, Connecticut. When the court broke for lunch, NEWTON was granted an hour to confer with SEALE and HUGGINS. NEWTON and SEALE embraced for publicity purposes; however, during the hour conference, NEWTON spent the time speaking to HUGGINS and [redacted] [redacted] who accompanied NEWTON, spoke with SEALE.

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FBI Agents  
New Haven, Connecticut  
February 1, 1971

On March 25, 1971, NEWTON appeared at Connecticut State Court, New Haven, to observe suppression hearing in the SEALE - HUGGINS case. On the evening of March 25, 1971, NEWTON and SEALE's attorneys traveled to Montville Prison, where SEALE is incarcerated. They conferred with SEALE for three hours.

FBI Agents  
New Haven, Connecticut  
March 25, 1971

On March 28, 1971, a message from BOBBY SEALE was broadcast over Radio Station KDIA, San Francisco. At the beginning of the broadcast, it was announced the message had been taped on the evening of March 25, 1971, when NEWTON had visited with SEALE in jail in New Haven. In the message, SEALE criticized ELDRIDGE CLEAVER and stated his (SEALE'S) support for NEWTON as leader of the BPP.

FBI Agent  
San Francisco, California  
March 28, 1971



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I. SUPPORT OF ANGELA DAVIS

On March 8, 1971, NEWTON was in contact with [REDACTED] ANGELA DAVIS, and NEWTON informed [REDACTED] that the BPP is now opening its doors for a united front relative to all political prisoners and specifically ANGELA DAVIS. NEWTON said the next issue of the BPP newspaper will contain statements of support by the BPP of DAVIS and other political prisoners. He explained to THORNE that the reason the derogatory article about DAVIS written by ELDRIDGE CLEAVER that was printed previously in "The Black Panther" was because [REDACTED] the newspaper and that she is in agreement with CLEAVER's views. NEWTON further told [REDACTED] that he intends to divide funds received from the recently held solidarity rally with DAVIS and other prisoners. NEWTON also said he would take part in the introduction of the film reportedly being prepared concerning ANGELA DAVIS.

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SF T-2  
March 8, 1971

On March 8, 1971, NEWTON instructed that an article be written for inclusion in the forthcoming issue of "The Black Panther" newspaper concerning ANGELA DAVIS. NEWTON instructed that the article state that the Central Committee of the BPP is backing ANGELA and that ELDRIDGE CLEAVER had talked against her all along due to his sexual fascism and had forced her out of the Party by his high-handed ways. NEWTON further stated the article should state that CLEAVER's article concerning DAVIS had slipped into the BPP newspaper by mistake and had been approved for printing by CLEAVER'S [REDACTED]

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SF T-4  
March 8, 1971

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The following letter from NEWTON on BPP stationery was mailed to ANGELA DAVIS on November 9, 1970:

"November 9, 1970

"Sister Angela:

"I received your letter via [redacted] and have also spoken with [redacted] The Black Panther Party places itself at your disposal and we will do everything in our power to assist you and to see to it that you become free and take your rightful place in the community.

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"Even though ideological contradictions do exist between the Communist Party and ourselves we will work together with them to free you. We will however criticize the CP whenever we see the necessity in the interest of the people.

"Be strong Sister, the people are with you and you will be set free.

"Power to the People

"s/s HUEY P. NEWTON

"HUEY P. NEWTON

"Minister of Defense"

SF T-36  
March 9, 1971

On March 16, 1971, NEWTON stated the BPP is going to give the ANGELA DAVIS Defense Committee \$500.00 from the funds raised at the Intercommunal Day of Solidarity for Political Prisoners rally held in Oakland on the night of March 5, 1971.

SF T-2  
March 16, 1971

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J. INTERVIEWS AND PRESS STATEMENTS

The center fold of the January 16, 1971, issue of "The Black Panther" newspaper contained an article setting forth the text of an interview of NEWTON by a representative of "SECHABA". The article is captioned "Repression Breeds Resistance, Huey P. Newton Talks to Sechaba" and is as follows:

Within a week of his release from a three year jail term, Huey Newton, Supreme Commander and Minister of Defense of the Black Panther Party gave this exclusive interview to Sechaba. The interview was arranged by the Africa Research Group with the assistance of Karen Wald. We take this opportunity to pay tribute to Huey Newton, a great revolutionary leader of the heroic Black Panthers.

SECHABA: Mr. Newton, welcome back from jail and thank you for granting us this interview. First we would like you to explain the relationship between the Black Panther Party and Black Power movement.

HUEY: The Black Panther Party grew out of the Black Power movement, but the Party transformed the ideology of Black Power, into a socialist ideology, a Marxist-Leninist ideology. The Black Power movement has a tendency to have a capitalistic orientation along the lines of what Marcus Garvey talked about the kind of organisation that Elijah Muhammed has, that is based upon Black capitalism. The Black Panther Party feels that not even the Black bourgeoisie will be able to compete with imperialism whose central base is here in North America. The United States is the central base of the bourgeoisie, and this is because this country is really not a nation any longer, it's an empire that controls the world, through economics or through physical force - military might. Even the Black Panther Party has transformed this movement into a socialist movement and we have become not nationalists like the Black Power movement in the past but internationalists.

The bourgeoisie that is based here in America has an international character, because it exploits the world, it controls the wealth of the world it has stolen, usurped the wealth of the people of the world, including the people who are in the Black colony here in America and who were stolen from Africa. We feel that the only way that we can combat an international enemy is through an international strategy, unity of all people who are exploited, who will overthrow the international bourgeoisie, and replace it with a dictatorship by the proletariat, the workers of the world. And we feel that after imperialism is destroyed, nationhood will no longer be necessary; the state will then wither away; then the whole world will belong to the people and the old national boundary lines will no longer exist. We think that the movement is at this stage, we think that the dialectics are now breaking upon taking socialism, social ideology to its final goal: communism and the absence of statehood. SECHABA: Do you want to say a little about the programme and programme of action in the immediate future for the Party and for yourself. HUEY: Our programme is armed struggle. We have hooked up with the people who are rising up all over the world with arms, because we feel that only with the power of the gun will the bourgeoisie be destroyed and the world transformed. We feel that the imperialists will not become Buddhists overnight, they will not lay down their butcher knives. Therefore the people will have to use certain measures to restore peace to the world and to restrain the madmen who're running



amuck throughout the world oppressing people everywhere. The world enemy number one is the ruling circle in the United States of America. We view the United States as the 'city' of the world and all the other countries as a countryside.

As one country becomes free it makes each country stronger because it develops a base of liberated territory so that we'll be in a better strategic position to fight, and also it will be one step in cutting off the raw materials that imperialism needs to feed its factories here at home. We'll

slowly strangle imperialism by freeing one country after another. This is why we support the brothers and sisters in

Southern Africa and those who are struggling in Northern Africa for socialist goals and against capitalism, against imperialism, as well

as the brothers and sisters in Asia and Latin America. We support all struggles where people are struggling for freedom, and we also support our European brothers and sisters who are struggling to overthrow the bourgeoisie in their country. When we are

nationalists, we support national wars of independence because this is a step

again towards cutting off the international bourgeoisie which is based in the United States. We feel that every

country has a right to be nationalistic at this point as long as they are internationalists at the same time. We feel that Black people in America have a moral right to claim nationhood because we are a colonized people. But

history won't allow us to claim nationhood, because it has bestowed an obligation upon us; to take socialist development to its final stage, to rid the world of the imperialist threat, the threat of the capitalist and the warmonger. Once he is destroyed then there will be no need for nationhood, because the nations won't need to defend themselves against the imperialist, because this is the most powerful imperialist country in the world, and other imperialist countries depend on the backing of the U.S. At this point the imperialist is running rampant, so any country has a right to claim nationhood or be nationalist, as long as they are internationalists as well.

If they are nationalist alone then they are chauvinist. If they are both nationalist and internationalist, they realize that they need liberated territory but they also realize that their interests are the same as every other peoples interest who are fighting against imperialism. While we respect your fight for nationhood and independence, and we struggle with you, we feel that we must destroy the very necessity for countries to be nations in the first place. And this is the whole idea of making the world a place where territorial boundaries will no longer be necessary.

SECHABA: The leadership of the Black Panther Party has come under very severe attacks during the past year. Can you tell us what effects these attacks have had on the Party?

**HUEY:** The repression breeds resistance. We feel that by virtue of the fact that we are being attacked, and the attacks are extremely vicious, we know that we must be hitting a sensitive spot. We have the fascists disturbed and they are running amuck simply because we are threatening them, we're threatening their very foundation, their very existence. Otherwise they would try to pretend to the world that this is democracy and they would support our right to freedom of speech, our right to freedom of the press and our right to political activity. But all these so-called democratic civil rights are denied the Black Panther Party, which is the Vanguard of the people, because the Party must be hitting a sensitive spot, it must be a threat to the bureaucratic imperialistic capitalist. We welcome all attacks. We will overcome all obstacles and advance wave upon wave. We will rid the world of the bourgeoisie and destroy all of the monsters, and the whole world will belong to the people.

**SEANAB:** Do you believe there are revolutionary possibilities in the United States?

**HUEY:** I would like to emphasize that without the people of the world struggling against imperialism, we would have a very weak position to work from here in the United States - which I am calling the urban area of the world. But because we know we have friends, comrades-in-arms who are fighting the same enemy that we are fighting, we feel that what we've done is just open up a new front. We should

say we are attempting to open up a new front, because we don't claim anything that we haven't done. But we are advancing the fight, we're strengthening our strategy of resistance and attack. We can do this because we realize the American fascist troops are being divided because the people of the world are struggling against them. We encourage - we admire, we have great admiration for socialist or communist guerrillas all over the world. We feel we will never be free until many colonized people are free. We notice that in most revolutions where guerrilla kind of tactic was used, the urban area or city was the last area to be covered, and that bases opened up first in the countryside. We see now many bases opening up in the countryside. We have advanced to the point where in many areas we've gone from guerrilla, to a kind of people's army that can operate with a face to face, head-on collision with the imperialist. This is only because of the great perseverance and great strength that you have shown, and that the people of the world have shown. While we're being attacked from the left and from the right and from all sides, we're still trying to follow your examples. We realize that you're also being attacked from all sides by the enemy. Because you are driving on you've given us strength to drive on. So onward to victory. We will someday meet and celebrate our victory, because I know we will have that.

**THE GUERRILLA BAND IS OUR EX-AMPER**



4  
SECHABA: What has been the most important inspiration for the Black Panthers?

HUEY: I think that not only Fidel and Che, Ho Chi Minh and Mao and Kim Il Sung, but also all the guerrilla bands that have been operating in Mozambique and Angola, and the Palestinian guerrillas who are fighting for a socialist world. I think they all have been great inspiration for the Black Panther Party. As I've said before, they're examples of all these guerrilla bands. The guerrillas who are operating in South Africa and numerous other countries all have had great influence. We study and we follow their example. We are

very interested in the strategy that's being used in Brazil, which is an urban area, and we plan to draw on that. And we've certainly been influenced by all of the people who are struggling in the world. As far as control is concerned, our Central Committee controls our Party. But I won't deny the influence. We don't consider that question an accusation, because I think we all should learn from each other.

SECHABA: Last year there was a United Front - the National Conference to Combat Fascism which included a number of groups, among them SDS, the Dubois Club, the Communist Party of the United States. What is the Black Panther Party policy on this kind of relationship?

HUEY: Our policy is that we are friends with all Marxists, want coalitions and alliances within this country and

all over the world. We could never have success without a popular movement - and when I speak of 'popular' I mean it in the truest sense of the word, in the internationalist sense. We have to have a popular mass in order to achieve victory, because victory is not for us, it's for the people. Therefore the people must be considered and the people must take a part in the struggle at every level.

We view part of our role as a vanguard, that we must educate the people as we go, orientate them and provide an understanding of the social forces that are in operation and the dialectics at the time. We can only do this through involving the people in practical application, and involving them at every level of the struggle. And we do have relationships and coalitions and just comradely love and work with all these groups, and we hope to even expand this to other groups - some we haven't even heard of.

#### SOLIDARITY IN ARMED STRUGGLE

SECHABA: Would the Black Panther Party like to set up or establish more direct contacts with the liberation struggles of Africa, Latin America and Asia?

HUEY: Yes we think that we can learn even more from each other if we were to establish better means of communications. One of the chief difficulties is a matter of communications. It is an international struggle - the Black Panther Party even thinks in terms of an international, an international



based upon armed struggle and the socialist ideology, because we feel the international situation that exist now is somewhat deteriorated, as far as the Third World is concerned, especially the Third World countries involved in armed combat. The International has stepped and criticized many of the national wars of independence and the armed struggle tactic as being too hasty and without enough orthodox political development. We see the need to overthrow the evil government and corrupt officials and we see only one way to do this. We don't believe we can do it through negotiation or electoral politics or any kind of non-violent means. The enemy is a violent man and we must treat him in an appropriate way.

SECHABA: And more specifically, would you be interested in having contact with the liberation movement of Southern Africa and, if so, in what form?

HUEY: As you know, we've offered troops to the Vietnamese people to show our international solidarity. At the same time we also made it clear that we would send troops or offer troops to any of our friends who would accept them. We think the ultimate gesture of friendship that we could offer is to send our comrades to shed blood on your soil in the name of freedom, in the interest of the people, and against the imperialist enemy. If there is anything else that we can do other than to struggle to break the chains that shackle us, then let us know about that, and we will be willing to consider it.

SECHABA: Is there mass interest in the United States about the struggle in Southern Africa? What can Sechaba do to publicize the South African revolution among the Black people in the United States?

HUEY: We, the Black Panther Party, are a vanguard group, so necessarily we're more enlightened than the masses and we are very interested in the international scope of things. The people are as people all over the world, so tied up and so involved in their survival from day to day, that much of the time they overlook, or they don't understand the international nature of the struggle. That is why it is our duty - one of our first duties - to raise the consciousness of the people through education. We would like more information about the struggle in Southern Africa. We are familiar with it right now, but we would like more information on your armed struggle and what the guerrillas are doing, so that we can spread this information. We would like film footage: we have trucks that we drive around in the community and show films to people that walk in the streets.

For example we have films of the revolution that took place in Algeria. The community is very impressed with that kind of thing because they can easily see the relationship between the way the French treated the Algerians and how we're treated in this country. And we have a motto in the Black Panther Party which is an old saying: "a picture is worth a thousand words". And the people, maybe they don't read as much as they should; so we found in our political education that it's very helpful to show films. If you have any



ictures or film footage you can get to us. I will assure you that it will be shown inside of the Black community, the Chinese community, the Indian community and the White community. There are poor White people in this country who are now becoming involved in the common struggle, and we're involved with them and we hope this national kind of involvement of many ethnic groups will aid us in relating to the people, to help them make that jump to identify with people from other countries who may be from other ethnic backgrounds or other cultural backgrounds.

So that's how you can help us, and on our side we can send you some more tapes and maybe some film footage of things that we're doing and things that happens to us in this country.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE  
Footnote:

*The above interview was done a week after the Supreme Commander and Minister of Defense of the Black Panther Party, Huey P. Newton, was released from jail. Since then, he has developed the Party's ideology to a much higher level and we have become intercommunalists and not internationalists as in the past. Becoming intercommunalists doesn't in any way contradict or negate any of the above statements but rather gives more validity to them and places us on a quicker path towards the achievement of one community, the community of the peoples of the world.*



SF 157-1203  
JLC/sad

The March 19, 1971, issue of the "San Francisco Chronicle", a daily San Francisco newspaper, contained an article written by Staff Reporter TIM FINDLEY captioned "NEWTON Talks of Panthers' Future". According to the article, NEWTON stated: "Reports of death of the Black Panther Party are being exaggerated by people who never understood the Party in the first place. The Party is not finished, the programs are continuing; but it's the vision that has been almost devastated now. You spend your time putting those programs together and now I go out and people don't want to know about that, they want to ask another question: 'Is it really a split?' I tell them, 'No, ELDRIDGE CLEAVER just quit', and they think that's funny".

The article reports on the various community programs the BPP participates in, naming the Free Breakfast For Children Program, free medical clinics, and the beginning of a free shoe factory.

In commenting regarding the split between CLEAVER and NEWTON, the article reports that "CLEAVER's main insistence in the past two weeks has been that BOBBY SEALE and ANGELA DAVIS can only be freed through sudden acts such as carried out by JONATHAN JACKSON at the Marin County Courthouse. CLEAVER, in short, is calling for his followers to abandon any illusions and begin 'the revolution.' " To that NEWTON replied, "No kamikaze act has ever made a revolution. Even though I wouldn't deny the necessity of a kamikaze act in a certain situation."

The article ends with the following statements of NEWTON:

"The credibility of the Party has been attacked. We can too easily now forget the community and start arguing personality and ideology among ourselves.

SF 157-1203  
JLC/sad

"ELDRIDGE is not destroying the leadership of the Panther Party, because I'd give him that. He's destroying the vision the Panther Party created".

On March 28, 1971, following a taped message by BOBBY SEALE that was aired on Radio Station KDIA, San Francisco, NEWTON was interviewed by the KDIA moderator. NEWTON stated he was certain SEALE would be acquitted, but he described the New Haven black community as "suppressed" and alleged New Haven is experimenting with new police methods. He also stated that Yale University receives CIA funds and the atmosphere in New Haven is one of "creeping fascism."

NEWTON further remarked that the BPP has 38 chapters and branches, with 2 chapters and 1 branch defecting with CLEAVER and leaving the Party. He named only the New Jersey NCCF and the Harlem Branch as defecting.

NEWTON said that all BPP chapters have elaborate programs carrying out "survival pending revolution" and are concerned with the necessity of freeing all political prisoners.

FBI Agent  
San Francisco  
March 28, 1971

SF 157-1203  
JLC/sad

K. WRITINGS

The April 17, 1971, issue of "The Black Panther"  
contained the following article by NEWTON:

~~ON THE DEFECTION OF~~  
~~ELDRIDGE CLEAVER~~  
~~FROM THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY~~  
AND THE DEFECTION OF  
THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
FROM THE BLACK COMMUNITY

*By Huey P. Newton,*

*Minister of Defense of The Black Panther Party  
and Servant of The People*

"The Black Panther"  
April 17, 1971

The Black Panther Party bases its ideology and philosophy on a concrete analysis of concrete conditions, using dialectical materialism as our analytical method. As dialectical materialists we recognize that contradictions can lead to development. The internal struggle of opposites based upon their unity causes matter to have motion as a part of the process of development. We recognize that nothing in nature stands outside of dialectics, even the Black Panther Party. But we welcome these contradictions, because they clarify and advance our struggle. We had a contradiction with our former Minister of Information, Eldridge Cleaver. But we understand this as necessary to our growth. Out of this contradiction has come new growth and a new return to the original vision of the Party.

Early in the development of the Black Panther Party I wrote an essay titled "The Correct Handling of a Revolution". This was in response to another contradiction - the criticisms raised against the Party by the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM). At that time RAM criticized us for our above-ground action -- openly displaying weapons and talking about the necessity for the community to arm itself for its own self-defense. RAM said that they were underground, and saw this as the correct way to handle a revolution. I responded to them by pointing out that you must establish your organization above ground so that the people will relate to it in a way that will be positive and progressive to them. When you go underground without doing this, you bury yourself so

deeply that the people can neither relate to nor contact you. Then the terrorism of the underground organization will be just that--striking fear into the hearts of the very people whose interest the organization claims to be defending--because the people cannot relate to them and there is nobody there to interpret their actions. You have to set up a program of practical action and be a model for the community to follow and appreciate.

The original vision of the Party was to develop a lifeline to the people, by serving their needs and defending them against their oppressors who come to the community in many forms--from armed police to capitalist exploiters. We knew that this strategy would raise the consciousness of the people and also give us their support. Then, if we were driven underground by the oppressors, the people would support us and defend us. They would know that, in spite of the oppressor's interpretations, that our only desire was to serve their true interests; and they would defend us. In this manner we might be forced underground, but there would be a lifeline to the community which would always sustain us, because the people would identify with us and not with our common enemy.

For a time the Black Panther Party lost its vision and defected from the community. With the defection of Eldridge Cleaver, however, we can move again to a full scale development of our original vision and come out of the twilight zone which the Party has been in during the recent past.

The only reason that the Party is still in existence at this time, and



*the only reason that we have been able to survive the repression of the Party and murders of some of our most advanced comrades is because of the Ten-Point Program -- our survival program. Our programs would be meaningless and insignificant if they were not community programs. This is why it is my opinion that as long as the Black community and oppressed people are found in North America the Black Panther Party will last. The Party will survive as a structured vehicle, because it serves the true interests of oppressed people and administers to their needs -- this was the original vision of the Party. The original vision was not structured by rhetoric nor by ideology. It was structured by the practical needs of the people, and its dreamers were armed with an ideology which provided a systematic method of analysis of how best to meet those needs.*

*When Bobby Seale and I came together to launch the Black Panther Party, we had been through many groups. Most of them were so dedicated to rhetoric and artistic rituals that they had withdrawn from living in the Twentieth Century. Sometimes their analyses were beautiful, but they had no practical programs which would deliver their understandings to the people. When they did try to develop practical programs, they often failed, because they lacked a systematic ideology which would help them do concrete analyses of concrete conditions to gain a full understanding of the community and its needs. When I was in Donald Warden's Afro-Ameri-*

*can Association, I watched him try to make a reality of community control through Black Capitalism. But Warden did not have a systematic ideology, and his attempts to initiate his program continually frustrated him and the community too. They did not know why capitalism would not work for them, even though it had worked for other ethnic groups.*

*When we formed the Party, we did so because we wanted to put theory and practice together, in a systematic manner. We did this through our basic Ten Point Program. In actuality it was a 20-Point Program, with the practice expressed in "What We Want" and the theory expressed in "What We Believe". This program was designed to serve as a basis for a structured political vehicle.*

*The actions we engaged in at that time were strictly strategic actions, for political purposes. They were designed to mobilize the community. Any action which does not mobilize the community toward the goal is not a revolutionary action. The action might be a marvelous statement of courage, but if it does not mobilize the people toward the goal of a higher manifestation of freedom, it is not making a political statement and could even be counter-revolutionary.*

*We realized at a very early point in our development, that revolution is a process. It is not a particular action, nor is it a conclusion. It is a process. This is why when feudalism wiped out slavery, feudalism was revolutionary. This is why when capitalism wiped*

out feudalism, capitalism was revolutionary. The concrete analysis of concrete conditions will reveal the true nature of the situation and increase our understanding. This process moves in a dialectical manner and we understand the struggle of the opposites based upon their unity.

Many times people say that our Ten-Point Program is reformist; but they ignore the fact that revolution is a process. We left the program open-ended, so that it could develop and people could identify with it. We did not offer it to them as a conclusion; we offered it as a vehicle to move them to a higher level. In their quest for freedom, and in their attempts to prevent the oppressor from stripping them of all the things they need to exist, the people see things as moving from A to B to C; they do not see things as moving from A to Z. In other words they have to see first some basic accomplishments, in order to realize that major successes are possible. Much of the time the revolutionary will have to guide them into this understanding. But he can never take them from A to Z in one jump, because it is too far ahead. Therefore, when the revolutionary begins to indulge in Z, or final conclusions, the people do not relate to him. Therefore he is no longer a revolutionary, if revolution is a process. This makes any action or function which does not promote the process - non-revolutionary.

When the Party went to Sacramento, when the Party faced down the police-

men in front of the office of Ramparts magazine, and when the Party patrolled the police with arms, we were acting (in 1966) at a time when the people had given up the philosophy of non-violent direct action and were beginning to deal with sterner stuff. We wanted them to see the virtues of disciplined and organized armed self-defense, rather than spontaneous and disorganized outbreaks and riots. There were Police Alert Patrols all over the country, but we were the first armed police patrol. We called ourselves the Black Panther Party for Self Defense. In all of this we had political and revolutionary objectives in mind, but we knew that we could not succeed without the support of the people.

Our strategy was based on a consistent ideology, which helped us to understand the conditions around us. We knew that the law was not prepared for what we were doing and policemen were so shocked that they didn't know what to do. We saw that the people felt a new pride and strength because of the example we set for them; and they began to look toward the vehicle we were building for answers.

Later we dropped the term "Self-Defense" from our name and just became the Black Panther Party. We discouraged actions like Sacramento and police observations because we recognized that these were not the things to do in every situation or on every occasion. We never called these revolutionary actions. The only time



an action is revolutionary is ~~when the~~ people relate to it in a revolutionary way. If they will not use the example you set, then no matter how many guns you have, your action is not revolutionary.

The gun itself is not necessarily revolutionary, because the fascists carry guns--in fact they have more guns. A lot of so-called revolutionaries simply do not understand the statement by Chairman Mao that "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun." They thought Chairman Mao said political power is the gun, but the emphasis is on grows. The culmination of political power is the ownership and control of the land and the institutions thereon, so that you can then get rid of the gun. That is why Chairman Mao makes the statement that, "We are advocates of the abolition of war, we do not want war; but war can only be abolished through war, and in order to get rid of the gun, it is necessary to take up the gun." He is always speaking of getting rid of it. If he did not look at it in those terms, then he surely would not be revolutionary. In other words, the gun by all revolutionary principles is a tool to be used in our strategy; it is not an end in itself. This was a part of the original vision of the Black Panther Party.

I had asked Eldridge Cleaver to join the Party a number of times. But he did not join until after the confrontation with the police in front of the office of Ramparts Magazine, where

the police were afraid to go for their guns. Without my knowledge, he took this as the Revolution and the Party. But in our basic program it was not until Point 7 that we mentioned the gun, and this was intentional. We were trying to build a political vehicle through which the people could express their revolutionary desires. We recognized that no party or organization can make the revolution, only the people can. All we could do was act as a guide to the people. Because revolution is a process, and because the process moves in a dialectical manner. At one point one thing might be proper, but the same action could be improper at another point. We always emphasized a concrete analysis of concrete conditions, and then an appropriate response to these conditions as a way of mobilizing the people and leading them to higher levels of consciousness.

People constantly thought that we were security guards and community police or something like this. This is why we dropped the term "Self Defense" from our name and directed the attention of the people to the fact that the only way they would get salvation is through their control of the institutions which serve the community. This would require that they organize a political vehicle which would keep their support and endorsement through its survival programs of service. They would look to it for answers and guidance. It would not be an organization which runs candidates for political office, but it would serve

as a watchman over the administrators whom the people have placed in office.

Because the Black Panther Party grows out of the conditions and needs of oppressed people, we are interested in everything the people are interested in, even though we may not see these particular concerns as the final answers to our problems. We will never run for political office, but we will endorse and support those candidates who are acting in the true interests of the people. We may even provide campaign workers for them and do voter registration and basic precinct work. This would not be out of a commitment to electoral politics, however. It would be our way of bringing the will of the people to bear on situations in which they are interested. We will also hold such candidates responsible to the community, no matter how far removed their offices may be from the community. So we lead the people by following their interests, with a view toward raising their consciousness to see beyond particular goals.

When Eldridge joined the Party it was after the police confrontation, which left him fixated with the "either-or" attitude. This was that either the community picked up the gun with the Party or else they were cowards and there was no place for them. He did not realize that if the people did not relate to the Party, then there was no way that the Black Panther Party could make any revolution, because the record shows that the people are the makers of the revolution and of world history.

Sometimes there are those who express personal problems in political terms, and if they are eloquent, then these personal problems can sound very political. We charge Eldridge Cleaver with this. Much of it is probably beyond his control, because it is so personal. But we did not know that when he joined the Party, he was doing so only because of that act in front of Ramparts. We weren't trying to prove anything to ourselves, all we were trying to do, at that particular point, was defend Betty Shabazz. But we were praised by the people.

Under the influence of Eldridge Cleaver the Party gave the community no alternative for dealing with us, except by picking up the gun. This move was reactionary simply because the community was not at that point. Instead of being a cultural cult group, we became, by that act, a revolutionary cult group. But this is a basic contradiction, because revolution is a process, and if the acts you commit do not fall within the scope of the process then they are non-revolutionary.

What the revolutionary movement and the Black community needs is a very strong structure. This structure can only exist with the support of the people and it can only get its support through serving them. This is why we have the service to the people program - the most important thing in the Party. We will serve their needs, so that they can survive through this oppression. Then when they are ready to pick up the gun, serious business will happen. Eldridge Cleaver



influenced us to isolate ourselves from the Black community, so that it was war between the oppressor and the Black Panther Party, not war between the oppressor and the oppressed community.

The Black Panther Party defected from the community long before Eldridge defected from the Party. Our hook-up with white radicals did not give us access to the white community, because they do not guide the white community. The Black community does not relate to them, so we were left in a twilight zone, where we could not enter the community with any real political education programs; yet we were not doing anything to mobilize whites. We had no influence in raising the consciousness of the Black community and that is the point where we defected.

We went through a free speech movement in the Party, which was not necessary, and only further isolated us from the Black community. We had all sorts of profanity in our paper and every other word which dropped from our lips was profane. This did not happen before I was jailed, because I would not stand for it. But Eldridge's influence brought this about. I do not blame him altogether; I blame the Party because the Party accepted it.

Eldridge was never fully in the leadership of the Party. Even after Bobby was snatched away from us, I did not place Eldridge in a position of leadership, because he was not interested in that. I made David Hilliard administrator of programs. I knew that

Eldridge would not do anything to lift the consciousness of the comrades in the Party. But I knew that he could make a contribution; and I pressed him to do so. I pressed him to write and edit the paper, but he wouldn't do it. The paper did not even come out every week until after Eldridge went to jail. But Eldridge Cleaver did make great contributions to the Black Panther Party with his writing and speaking. We want to keep this in mind, because there is a positive and negative side to everything.

The correct handling of a revolution is not to offer the people an "either-or" ultimatum. We must instead gain the support of the people through serving their needs. Then when the police or any other agency of repression tries to destroy the program, the people will move to a higher level of consciousness and action. Then the organized structure can guide the people to the point where they are prepared to deal in many ways. This was the strategy we used in 1966 when we were related to in a positive way.

So the Black Panther Party has reached a contradiction with Eldridge Cleaver and he has defected from the Party, because we would not order everyone into the streets tomorrow to make a revolution. We recognize that this is impossible because our dialectics or ideology, our concrete analysis of concrete conditions say that it is a fantasy, because the people are not at that point now. This contradiction and conflict may seem unfortunate to



some, but it is a part of the dialectical process. ~~The resolution of this contradiction~~ has freed us from incorrect analyses and emphases.

We are now free to move toward the building of a community structure which will become a true voice of the people, promoting their interests in many ways. We can continue to push our basic survival program. We can continue to serve the people as advocates of their true interests. We can truly become a political revolutionary vehicle which will lead the people to a higher level of consciousness, so that they will know what they must really do in their quest for freedom, and they will have the courage to adopt any means necessary to seize the time and obtain that freedom.

HUEY P. NEWTON  
MINISTER OF DEFENSE  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY,  
SERVANT OF THE PEOPLE

SF 157-1203  
JLC/sad

The April 17, 1971, issue of "The Black Panther" also contained a letter from NEWTON to MUHAMMAD ALI (CASIUS CLAY, former heavyweight boxing champion), which reads as follows:

"OPEN LETTER TO MUHAMMAD ALI"

"1048 Peralta Street  
"Oakland, California 94607  
"March 23, 1971

"Dear Muhammad,

"We want you to know that you're still our champ, not because you are the master boxer (and you are, of course), but because you are the heavyweight champ who has refused to compromise Black manhood. We respect the dignity and integrity with which you have worn the heavyweight crown. Even though your recent fight with Joe Frazier will stand in the archives of history as the greatest fight in history, it is really only an incident when we consider the fight you have waged against U. S. imperialism. You dared say "no" to fascism, they took your crown and tried to destroy you, but still you did not compromise. They immobilized you (as a boxer) for three years, but they did not immobilize your mind nor your spirit. We can only salute this kind of courage. When you fought Joe Frazier you were fighting the whole reactionary system. The system had immobilized you, persecuted you, hounded you and yet you came back strong. Yes, you out-boxed Frazier, you won the fight, you only lost the "decision". But whether or not you win in the ring is not our major concern --- our concern is that you win in the universe.

"ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

"HUEY P. NEWTON  
"Minister of Defense  
"Black Panther Party"

SF 157-1203  
JLC/sad

L. GENERAL ROLE OF NEWTON

On December 14, 1970, NEWTON objected to the use of the word "National" on the sign outside BPP Headquarters at 1046 Peralta Street, Oakland, and ordered [ ] to have the wording changed to read "BPP Central Headquarters".

SF T-38  
December 14, 1970

[ ]

b6  
b7C

On January 14, 1971, NEWTON instructed that a meeting would be held at BPP Central Headquarters on January 15, 1971, and that all members working on the BPP newspaper were to attend. NEWTON and [ ] have some recommendations and comments to make concerning the publication and format of the BPP newspaper.

SF T-4  
January 14, 1971

On January 23, 1971, NEWTON was unhappy since they (Oakland BPP leaders) have retired the "Comrade Supreme Commander" and won't let him do anything. He said he can't go out by himself, that he couldn't drive and in fact, he doesn't even have a drivers license, but the Party would not let him drive if he did have one. Reportedly male members of the BPP in Oakland drive him wherever he has to go and as soon as it gets dark they take him home and won't let him on the streets. He said he would like to get out in the community like he did in the old days but you "can't turn back time".

SF T-2  
January 23, 1971

SF 157-1203  
JLC/sad

[redacted] NEWTON held a [redacted] meeting at  
a BPP [redacted] New Haven, Connecticut.

SF T-6  
[redacted]

[redacted] NEWTON addressed members of  
the BPP in New Haven, Connecticut. NEWTON told the group  
to start going to BOBBY SEALE'S trial.

b6  
b7C  
b7D

SF T-10  
[redacted]

[redacted] a meeting was held at the  
[redacted] New  
York. NEWTON told the members that [redacted]  
[redacted] New York BPP members,  
were expelled. NEWTON stated that no BPP member was to  
relate to the New York Panther 21, not to attend the trial  
or offer any type of moral or physical assistance.

NEWTON desired to revitalize the BPP at New York  
City and made changes in the leadership personnel.

NEWTON stated that he realized the BPP was in  
dire financial straits but hoped he could supply the Party  
with the needed capital. He stated that Random House will  
publish his seminar with ERIC ERICKSON at Yale University  
for \$30,000 and he will furnish another book concerning the  
BPP. NEWTON also stated the BPP has plans to purchase a  
Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) Office in  
Atlanta, Georgia, for a printing operation which could be  
expanded to the East and West Coast.

SF T-35  
[redacted]

[redacted] NEWTON visited [redacted]  
[redacted] Office of the BPP and held [redacted] meeting with  
[redacted]  
[redacted] He

b7D

SF 157-1203  
JLC/sad

discussed the purging of [REDACTED]

b6  
b7C

[REDACTED] He said that they quit the Party themselves because they had written a letter to the Weatherman declaring the Weatherman to be their vanguard.

NEWTON stated he was in jail with TIMOTHY LEARY. He said LEARY was in the honor section and was not surrounded by a wall and it was easy for him to walk away, but the Weatherman took credit for it. He stated that he (NEWTON) also had ill feelings for the BPP when he was in jail but the main reason was that he did not have the right exposure to the news media nor was he allowed to receive literature. NEWTON told the group he felt LEARY should be allowed to use his drugs whenever he pleased. He said he had also advised Algiers, Europe and Swedish officials of the expelling of the [REDACTED] [REDACTED] and that they were to be arrested on sight.

NEWTON said there is no longer a Panther 21 and that they are all purged except [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] that the BPP will support only those two. He said that [REDACTED] left with a lot of valuable Party information and that [REDACTED] left with quite a sum of money, but the amount was not known to NEWTON.

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b7C

NEWTON announced new leaders for the BPP in New York and concluded by saying that the BPP would continue to support ANGELA DAVIS.

SF T- 33

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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b7C  
b7D

On February 11, 1971, [REDACTED] told NEWTON that an article had appeared in the February 11, 1971, issue of the "New York Post" newspaper that reported two missing



SF 157-1203  
JLC/sad

Panthers, MICHAEL TABOR and RICHARD MOORE, may be dead. According to KENNER, the article reported that a police investigator said he is convinced the two may have been killed as the result of a deep split in the Party since they faced Party punishment for conspiring to kill the BPP Supreme commander (NEWTON). KENNER said the police theory was reinforced by a statement from Defense Attorney JERRY LEFCOURT who was quoted as saying, "I wouldn't be surprised if it were true" after being asked if he thought they might be dead. LEFCOURT was also quoted as saying, "I cannot think of any other reason they did not show up for trial unless they are fleeing for their lives".

NEWTON appeared to be very upset after hearing the above information and said, "That's pretty serious". He continued that he and [redacted] might be arrested as soon as they return to New York, but he was not worried about that except it would only mess up their being out on bail.

SF T- 2  
February 11, 1971

b6  
b7C

On February 22, 1971, NEWTON stated that [redacted] whom he described as [redacted] gave him a fund raising party at her home in Chicago on the night of February 21, 1971.

SF T- 2  
February 22, 1971

b6  
b7C

On February 24, 1971, an individual identified as [redacted] contacted NEWTON and told NEWTON that BERNADETTE DEVLIN, who was then touring the United States, wanted to meet with NEWTON when he was in the Boston area on approximately February 26, 1971.

SF 157-1203  
JLC/sad

BERNADETTE DEVLIN is publicly known as a member of Parliament from Mid-Ulster, Northern Ireland, who toured the U.S. in February, 1971.

On February 25, 1971, NEWTON instructed [ ] to contact DEVLIN and invite her to [ ] party in Boston on the night of February 26, 1971. NEWTON instructed that DEVLIN be advised the Party would be of no cost to her and that he desired to talk with her at that party.

b6  
b7C

SF T- 2  
February 24 and 25, 1971

On March 2, 1971, NEWTON was informed that Attorney CHARLES GARRY had called some people in New Haven, Connecticut, and told them that the New York BPP chapter had purged NEWTON and [ ]. Upon hearing this NEWTON asked if GARRY thought he was running the BPP and then commented that he has been noticing something recently about GARRY that was "funny". NEWTON remarked that lately GARRY has been using a great deal of profanity. He also stated that GARRY is a "congenial liar, windbag and always sticks his mouth out too far".

b6  
b7C

SF T-2  
March 2, 1971

After the split between NEWTON and CLEAVER on February 26, 1971, NEWTON instructed that the forthcoming BPP newspaper would contain articles about CLEAVER and the intercommunal section of the BPP. In that regard, NEWTON stated he would supervise the make-up of the forthcoming newspapers in order to be sure they contained no mistakes.

SF T-2  
March 3, 1971

On March 5, 1971, NEWTON instructed that [ ] and [ ] be reinstated in Detroit. NEWTON stated that gang warfare is inevitable and the BPP needs everyone now.

b6  
b7C

SF T-2  
March 5, 1971

SF 157-1203  
JLC/sad

[redacted] are members  
of the BPP in Detroit, Michigan.

On March 6, 1971, [redacted] was informed by NEWTON  
that Detroit was reinstated as a full party and that [redacted]  
[redacted] the Party in Detroit. He was told to  
get all the guys together [redacted] thought would qualify and  
be ready to move very fast. He was also told to find [redacted]  
[redacted] and tell [redacted] he had been reinstated and that he is  
to receive his orders from [redacted]

b6  
b7C

SF T-2  
March 6, 1971

On March 9, 1971, NEWTON stated he had been informed  
that articles in the newspaper had said that he (NEWTON) and  
DAVID HILLIARD had ordered the murder of ROBERT WEBB in New  
York. NEWTON stated he was not guilty of it and it was his  
understanding that the community rose up against the man and  
dealth with him.

SF T-31  
March 9, 1971

ROBERT WEBB is a former leader of the  
BPP in New York, who was murdered on  
the streets in New York City in March,  
1971.

NEWTON, in his dispute with ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, is  
endeavoring to push the BPP into above ground mass activity  
involving other organizations outside the BPP. NEWTON  
recently [redacted]  
[redacted]

b6  
b7C

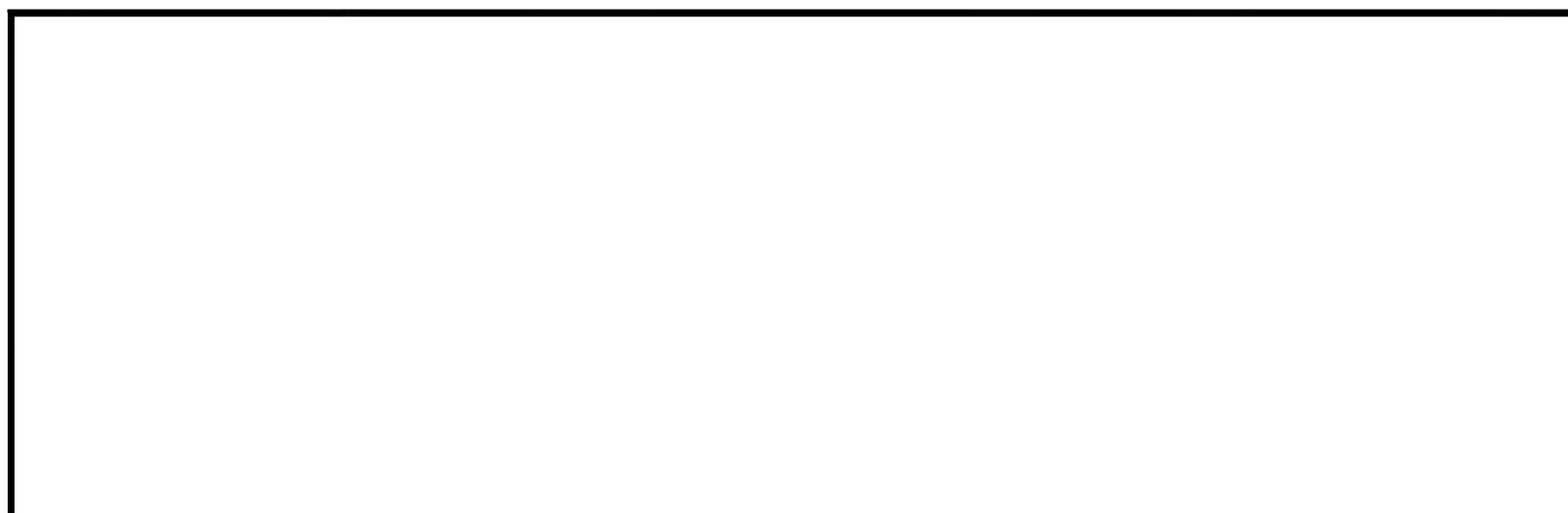


SF 157-1203  
JLC/sad

[REDACTED] and is  
therefore out of favor with NEWTON.

SF T-32  
March 11, 1971

b6  
b7C



SF 157-1203  
JLC/sad

On March 12, 1971, a spokesman at BPP Central Headquarters, Oakland, stated that sometime soon, exact date unknown, NEWTON is going to personally inspect various BPP offices across the United States.

SF T-30  
March 12, 1971

NEWTON was reportedly in contact with [ ] [ ] Los Angeles film producer, on March 17, 1971, regarding the possible preparation of a series of films depicting various BPP programs and presumably NEWTON at various BPP locations around the country. [ ] is supposedly interested in this proposal, providing film can be made in documentary fashion to give a true picture of "That's what is happening" so people will not come to the conclusion that it is a propaganda film. [ ] and NEWTON are supposed to discuss this matter further.

b6  
b7C

SF T-2  
March 17, 1971

On March 18, 1971, NEWTON was told that [ ] [ ] all Los Angeles BPP members, had been arrested. NEWTON instructed that they be bailed out, no matter what the amount the bail is.

b6  
b7C

SF T-2  
March 18, 1971

On March 20, 1971, NEWTON instructed [ ] who was then working on the March 27, 1971, issue of "the Black Panther" newspaper, to eliminate all pictures and drawings of guns and references to violence in the paper.

SF T-4  
March 20, 1971

SF 157-1203  
JLC/sad

The order by NEWTON to underplay the theme of violence in the BPP newspaper was designed to change the BPP image from one of a police-hating organization to that of a group interested in helping the underprivileged through community activities. This is designed to appeal to adult blacks and to win their support.

SF T-36  
April 13, 1971

b6  
b7C

On March 27, 1971, NEWTON named [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] NEWTON had previously named [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

SF T-2  
March 27, 1971

SF 157-1203  
JLC/sad

III. ATTEMPTED INTERVIEW OF NEWTON

On March 5, 1971, NEWTON was telephonically contacted at his residence in Oakland by SA [REDACTED] He was advised of the Agent's identity, the fact that the FBI had received an allegation that the BPP had plans to assassinate President RICHARD M. NIXON, and of the FBI's desire to interview him and other BPP members.

b6  
b7C

NEWTON then asked the identity of the caller and he was advised that the caller was an FBI Agent. NEWTON remarked, "Oh no! I have to hang up, brother Comrade". He thereupon hung up the telephone and terminated the conversation.



SF 157-1203  
JLC/sad

IV. MISCELLANEOUS

A. REPORTED Possession of Weapons

On January 27, 1971, NEWTON instructed JOHN SEALE to get him a jackknife and suggested he go to a diver's equipment store to buy one. He instructed SEALE to buy him a "square knife with a push button" on it and one with a "short, stiletto type blade" so he can carry it for "shaving purposes". SEALE indicated he would buy the knife for NEWTON on January 28, 1971.

SF T-2  
January 27, 1971

On March 18, 1971, NEWTON mentioned that he has a high-powered rifle with a scope in the bedroom of his apartment, and commented that he can look across Lake Merritt and see the "pigs" and the prisoners in Alameda County Jail in Oakland.

SF T-31  
March 18, 1971

SF 157-1203

JLC/sad

V. TRANSCRIPTS OF SPEECHES GIVEN BY NEWTON IN NOVEMBER AND  
DECEMBER, 1970

A. OAKLAND UNIVERSITY  
ROCHESTER, MICHIGAN  
NOVEMBER 16, 1970

On November 16, 1970, NEWTON spoke at Oakland University, Rochester, Michigan. Following is a transcript of a tape recording of NEWTON's speech made at the time of his delivery:

Speech by HUEY P. NEWTON

Oakland University  
Rochester, Michigan

November 16, 1970

Power to the people brothers and sisters.

First of all I'd like to say that we're very happy to be here and it's always a privilege to speak to the people because it is our motto serve the people both body and soul. We are aware a few days ago, a week ago, that the gestapo violated the territorial integrity of our community once again. We say free the Detroit sixteen. This should be the cry of our community. We also say free our Chairman Bobby Seale, Angela Davis, Soledad Brothers, all political prisoners. Also, we say free Huey and free the people. And I say that because we must realize that none of us are really free and we will not be free until the time that the people have control of the institutions in their community. We give support to the GM strike and League of Revolutionary Workers. The Black Panther Party is in consolidar, solidarity with the League of Revolutionary Workers. Many people have misconstrued the contradiction of what appears as a contradiction between the Black Panther Party and the League of Revolutionary Workers. We say that which is apparent is not always a fact. And that is why we study science in order to penetrate the appearance and to come up with some substance or take the veil away and take the facade away so we will know what's under the skin, because



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much of the time what is hidden is more significant than that which is revealed.

I will talk a little about the apparent contradiction between the League of Revolutionary Workers and the Black Panther Party, but first, I'll have to get a drink of water.

I also like to say and I'll just like to interject this, I was warned, coming to the east, that the weather is miserable. That's what I was told, especially this time of year. And I kept explaining to my comrades that I would probably like it because I like cold weather. Probably because so much of the time I'm so upset and so angry and in such a state of rage until it takes the cool of the evening to make me comfortable.

So now, as far as the contradiction between the Black Panther Party and the League of Revolutionary Workers. A short time ago, our Minister of Information Eldridge Cleaver, who resides now in the community of Algiers, Algeria, and whose manning our embassy there, wrote a theoretical work called "On the Ideology of the Black Panther Party". There he set forth a premise and a thesis that the lupen proletarians or the lupen proletarian class is a class that would probably carry the banner of revolution in the United States, and therefore transform the whole world because we realize the United

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States is an empire and any revolution that takes place in this country would necessarily effect the whole world community such, to such an extent until literally transform the world. The League of Revolutionary Workers and other people who claim they're, claim that they are Marxist scholars and social scientists, because Marx was no more than a social scien, social scientist, felt that there was some deviation to the formula laid out by Marx and Lenin and that formula is dialectical materialism, or in easier terms, it's the study of matter and how physical things interact, collide, divide, integrate, and transform. I said matter, I should say phenomena, because it's not only concerned with matter as far as the physical world. we find the same kind of relationship and the world we would call, the real world that we would call rational, the world that we would call spiritual, the world that we would call psychological, sociological, anthropologic, anthropological, and all of the other disciplines as far as science is concerned, they try to do one thing and that is work from a position of being objective because of disinterest, because of detachment. While the Marxist scientist sees an inter-relationship, between that complex hold. In other words, that all phenomena is related,

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all phenomena works in a pattern and we find that in this physical world if we study physics, which I haven't, but I do know some of the basic principles, we find that when atoms clash, they sub-divide into I think it's, if I remember my high school physical science class, they go into neutrons and protons and sub-divide again, you see? Therefore, they're transformed, but what happened to the atom? The atom did not disappear. The atom was transformed. It was made into something else, with some of the same properties that were characteristic of it before hand, would be represented in the characteristic of that new thing. So it's true in the physical world. We all agree. And the social world, we find that the social scientist attempts to study what happens when groups, well let's start with the psychologist. He starts with individual contradiction and then the sociologist starts, attempts to analyze what happens when social forces clash. How they're held together, how they integrate, how they're alienated from each other. You see? How when two groups of people who happen to be from different cultural backgrounds, it's anthropology. From different cultural backgrounds when they clash, or when they come together a process occurs that I believe you call it a cultururation.



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That is when two cultures meet or two different people meet of people say from an African past an African heritage, and of people from or European heritage, when they come together or thrown together a culturation occurs and that means that both cultures are modified. It transformed into something else. And the anthropologists say that the culture, the stronger culture will show much less change while the weaker culture will show more change. I will take some exception to that. Unless it explains further, unless it means that the stronger culture has more power as far as fire power, as far as force, because I can't really make any distinction between that, between the strength of two different cultures. But I don't want to get into specifics, first I want to lay a general foundation in order for you to understand the so-called contradiction between the League of Revolutionary Workers and the Black Panther Party. Of course when we have other concepts assimilation might take place. Eventually, after culturation integration perhaps and maybe none of it will occur, but something will happen when two cultures meet. It might not be integration; it might not be assimilation; it might not even be a culturation. It could be my friend annihilation, but only the anthropologist don't

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talk about that too much. But of course we blacks here in America, we know about it. We Indians here in America we know about it. We Chicanos here in America, we know about it. We Chinese here in America, we know about it. Yes. And we poor white people when we clash with our class enemies who are rich, we know about it. And I intentionally use the term "we" because before too long the people of the world, of all communities, must unite against the aggressor against the racist circle and whole structure including his agency and force. On a local level, your local police. On a national level, your national guard. Or rather, let's substitute on a community level, your national guard and let's call regents local, alright? And on an inter-communal level which we used to call international level, but we don't any more, and I'll explain that shortly. Incidentally, I just dropped this in so that when we have the question-answer period you can argue with me alright? That the Black Panther Party, the vanguard of the peoples' struggle for freedom, the vanguard of the people's struggle on an inter-communal level, the vanguard is no longer an internationalist. We're inter-communalists. But I don't want to stray from the issue. So we find that things change with time, things change with circumstances,

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and things seem to just change. Flux, flux, all this flux. And in order to understand these changes, that the scientist whatever discipline he may follow, attempts to use some formula some method some equation, to understand the environment. And that's why, or that's why we should be in school. Not to learn by wrote memory, but to learn how to think and we learn how to think by learning how to be as objective as possible, and then after gaining objective knowledge, learning to apply it in a creative fashion which is always subjective. But in order to be a real person and live in a real world, we must integrate theory with practice. And I say that practice is always subjective because once we put a theory into practice then the theory then we're attempting to serve some real interest, our interest, our group's interest, or our people's interest. You see? So once you have that value judgement, once you place value upon anything, to that degree is subjective. So that's one of the differences between the Marxist scientist and the other so-called scholar who follow other disciplines. First, the Marxists claim that the other scientists, if he puts things into a category that he's only dealing with an abstraction, and he's not dealing with the real world, because he's not dealing with the real situation. So he's actually changed whatever he's



attempted to analyze by taking it out of its natural context and putting it into another. I would like to strike that. Because I don't know what's natural. He takes it out of context, the context that it was in before and therefore changes it. And he changes it and then if he attempts to infer and predict from the conclusions that he draws after isolating a particular variable, he will find that the beginning of his paper, his thesis, or his term paper, will only exemplify mischievous madness and it will end with foolishness. So, the Marxist attempts to look at the world and look at world phenomena and its real environment. In order to do this, he must use an approach and he must try to be as objective as possible. So first, he starts out with the same assumption that all scientists must start out with because we realize that the first assumption or our first premise is all an assumption. Because its based mostly upon a belief. A belief that is very difficult to test, if it can be tested at all. So all scientists start out with the belief that first there is a real world that exists independently of ourselves. In other words, if we die that the world, the objective world or the external world, will not cease to exist but it will go on existing because it exists not because of our projection but exists independently of us. You see?

It's an                      in his own right, you see? So that's where all Marxists agree with all other scientists who, whom he might criticize to be narrow-minded and backwards. So the second premise after we say that the world, there's a world out there and it's not only existing in my head, but in fact it exists in spite of me. And I'm gonna have to deal with that world. The second thing is that he agrees that everything is in a constant state of change and transformation. You see? And that everything is inter-related so this is where they part because many people are what we call pretty static. Even so-called Marxists. They make science of Marxist very dull to our young people because they think it's all attacks to 1917, the Soviet Union, and the Peoples Republic of China. Not necessarily so. Dialectics is only a method you see? Rather Marxism is only a method to understand the dialectics because the dialectics is a clashing and the inner works of the social forces. So after we understand this, then we see that whatever discipline or whatever we study that it is in fact a change. It's not the same as it was yesterday, even if it bears very certain similarities. Now I started off with the criticism of the so-called Marxist. And I also said that they

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criticize the Party because the Party place emphasis upon the revolutionary fervor and the revolutionary potentiality of the lupen proletarians. As proletarians proper, or the worker. The industrial worker proletarian, the industrial worker. Lupen proletarian. What does this mean? Marx, Lenin, there are a number of translations. Some call it scum. Some call it the people who cannot be organized. Dead weight on society. There is the people outside of, similarly outside of the immediate structure. You see? Lupen. The Black Panther Party calls the lupen the oppressed people who in this country are what we call the unemployables. They are the people who are who have been placed on the junk piles of society already because the ruling circle, the capitalist, does not need him any more. The ruler's circle is not interested in him any more. Because he cannot serve his You see?

Now, the League of Revolutionary Workers say that this is the wrong position because history shows that it's always, it always defends the proletarian was carried out revolution. You see? That is, when I say revolution, I mean socialist revolution. Because that is the only revolution. Everything else is reaction. Because I contend that only socialism or communism if you will, will serve the true interests of the people. Including the ruling, what is known as the ruling circle now. It could be



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their salvation because it could save their lives. Now, the League of Revolutionary Workers also point out how could you possibly place emphasis upon and a belief that your lupen proletarians will carry out revolution and have the potentialities of building a new society and have the number which the Black Panther Party agrees that in order to have revolution, in order to have socialist revolution, it must be popular. In other words, there's no such thing as a socialist revolution by a minority. We disagree with the seven day wonder idea, or the ninety day wonder idea, per ce. That was a phrase some years ago by the Black Panther Party. The Black Panther Party does not mind, we do not mind being changed, really we're not being changed we realize that nothing escapes dialectic that we are also under a process of transformation. So necessarily our retoric articulation of the phenomena and also our position is likely to change. Or else we will cease being Marxists - Leninists. We will become historical Marxists and not really Marxists at all, we will become followers of Hagle and not Marx at all, you see? So the League of Revolutionary Workers point out that how can you possibly have or put the faith or expect the lupens to carry out a revolution when they are unemployed, they're a minority, and you've already said that it takes a majority of the people or a popular force to carry out

revolution, socialist revolution. And we say we agree that it does take the popular but we also hold steadfast that the lupen proletarians are the most revolutionary class and they will be the vanguard of the revolution and create the new order. Establish the new order. This seems to be in contradiction, but it is not. Apparently, it is a contradiction, while in fact it's only paradoxical. That is, it seems that it's in conflict with itself but after we use some science, and some investigation, some observation and experience, we'll see that it's quite consistent. We say first we will give an example and maybe it will be self-explanatory while we're not historical Marxists, we do rely upon the storehouse of knowledge that has been accomplished through the people of the world making history and then writing history. 1917, the Soviet Union, Russia, Russia was according to many of the revolutionists, a backwards society, an agricultural society what today we will call a developing society, you see? And that meant that most of the people in Russia were peasants so the popular force in Russia were peasants, agricultural workers, victims of feudalism, while the minority and the very small minute force worked in industry so therefore we could properly say that they were proletarians, you see? But what happened in the Soviet Union?

At that time that Lenin and the Reds analyzed the situation the condition analyzed the social forces, and found that the industrial workers who was the minority, carried the revolutionary potentiality and would carry the people would carry the peoples' banner of revolution and socialism. And therefore transform Russia into a people's republic. The industrial worker at that time mobilized the peasants. The industrial worker vanguarded the struggle, involved the peasants, and created a new society based upon industry. You see? But while the industrial worker was minority in the in the Soviet Union and Russia, that the trend of development was that the industrial worker of the industries and capitalism was on the upsurge, you see? And feudalism was so exhausted and the people so deprived that til it was apparent that their class, the class of the peasantry, was on the decline. So the industrial worker was destined to be the majority, you see? And I say this because to be a scientist you also have to understand trends you see? Most of the conclusions that we draw in various sciences we attempt to predict some future action, knowing full well that our prediction might be undermined by change in social forces or change in the variables. You see? Because that thing remains constant but we will get probabilities in this way, why we

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have the science of statistics. We will measure our chances, you see? And I mention all these disciplines because I see many young people here who are bored to death with my very academic lecture because if I infer and perhaps not incline, but if I infer from the evidence, based upon first my experience here and my past experiences, my observation, that when I was your age that I wanted to hear some feel good stuff. But I'm sorry and I know that many of you are surprised, because you didn't expect this but I'm not gonna give you, you see, I'm not gonna be subjective and I'm not gonna subscribe to bourgeois democracy and give you what you are demanding but what is actually hurting you. I'm gonna give you what is in your true interest, what you need. You see. So I offer to you today an understanding, a way of going about understanding the world and then applying this to practice and therefore changing the world for your own interest you see. So because I have control of the mike, and I'm not gonna give you what you want, I'm not gonna give you what you desire, but I'm gonna give you not what's good to you but what's good for you. And I guess this is always the way I've operated and by this I've made many friends and also many enemies. I hope today I'm making friends. Well, I'll go on and finish up this part and this is to clear up what



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I call that apparent contradiction between the Revolutionary Workers and the Black Panther Party. Bear with me. So the revolution was carried out because the trend was in the Soviet Union 1917 that the peasant class was on the decline and the proletarian class was a capitalistic class at that time was on the upsurge you see. So the worker was destined to be the most popular, whether a revolution occurred or not, because the capitalist was gonna take care of that. What Lenin tried to do after he had mastered the science of Marx is to harness the social forces that he understood so well and therefore define the phenomena and then make it act in the desired, desirable manner. In other words, just as the scientist who would like to create a power force maybe atomic energy but first he would have to understand you see the workings of the science of physics and the workings of and the interaction of those properties and then after he does this he becomes subjective and he says that I want to do with this something I want to make it work for me so therefore it's called harnessing atoms, you see? And making it act in his benefit or acting in the way that he wanted it to act. So as I said, and I'm not to be redundant, but just for emphasis, that whether Lenin ever lived or not, that the proletarians were destined to be the most popular group in the Soviet

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Union, but what Lenin saw was that because they were, and this was being created by the profit by the capitalists, that they would be the most popular and the peasants class would be the minority and then there were many other reasons why the proletarians proved to be very revolution at that time. You see? There was much alienation between the owner and the worker. There was much hardship and so forth but I won't go into all the conditions that would or the attributes that would make up a revolutionary class. Today I'm speaking mostly in generalities because I have some other engagements tomorrow and I have a habit of going on for some eight hours sometimes if my comrades don't drag me off the stage or from the podium and I will try to limit it so I'll speak in generalities and we'll argue a little later. But in this country after we understand what happened in the Soviet Union, in this country we claim that a minority has a revolutionary potentiality, and we call them the lupen proletarian. Proletarian because by many of their attributes they are either workers unemployed or they're workers who are unemployable. In other words, they're people who would require some work in order to live so in that sense they're a part of the proletarians you see but we call this the left wing of the proletarian. And we call it the left wing of the proletarian

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because again we say the lupen proletarian are the most revolutionary and we say that it seems that because of the developments and the trends in technology that we'd notice technology going from automation to cybernetics we notice that it is not stopping at cybernetics but going into technocracy. We say that as the ruling circle develops his machine that he needs people less, he needs people, he doesn't need the people any longer. The numbers decrease while it took a hundred men, a thousand men, to put out many cars a day, now it takes fewer people. You see? Where it took say two hundred, now it might take fifty. Because the machinery is technology is being developed because the capitalist who owns the means of production is trying to make as much profit as possible and hire as few people as possible and pay as little as possible. In order to do this, he must first rip off and then reinvest his surplus in order to perfect his machine so that people he will not need people because as far as he uses people are pretty unreliable. They might even strike. While if his machine is perfected perhaps he could buy off a few technocrats, perhaps he could supply them with such abundance until they would never deviate from the will of their master. You see? So if the trend continues and you

could rest assured that the capitalist will do, follow a logic that is in his interest while the people always follow another logic which that is the logic that would lead them to own all of the wealth they produce. We know in order for any capitalist for any owner of a factory to exist that he has to pay us less, he has to pay us not what not the amount that we produce but he pays us a part so that he will make a profit. You see? In other words, if we produce ten dollars of wealth that he will pay us two dollars. You see? So he makes a profit, otherwise he wouldn't be there. But when the people realize that they don't need him that they can organize themselves so that they can collectively share in the wealth they produce then they will deal with the ruling circle. So in the case of the United States of this empire, it seems that most people who deal in science and district are rational thinking, logical thinking, would agree that the industries and the proletarian works in the industry they agree that he is attempting to use fewer and fewer people and each person that he is using is becoming more and more specialized, so specialized until he's being transformed into not what Marx told the worker in 1917, but into something that's called a technocrat now that not even a Marxist scholar would call a worker. You see? So if the proletarian class proper



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is on the decline because of development of technology, and if that is a trend, and based upon the evidence that is the trend until some other evidence is offered, I said it is a trend, now I didn't say that the trend would be completed. We the people will prevent that. And we will do it because it is not in our interest. But as the proletarian class becomes decreased because they're not needed any longer by the, by the capitalist, this would swell the lumpen proletarians because as we stipulated before, or I stated, and I hope you agree, that the lumpen proletarian are the unemployables. So the unemployment rate goes up. You see? The lumpen class are being placed on the junk piles of society, they're becoming the most popular class, they're the most angry class, they're a class to look at for answers, they see no, they do not identify with the owner, with the capitalist. In fact, they hate him with a passion, they want what he has, he has the food, he has the wealth, they are the haves, and they want that. But they realize in order to get that, they must organize and to prevent from what to prevent a vicious circle or to prevent the same thing happening to them, that happened to their former master, they will treat each other and they will call themselves, they will establish collectives, they will establish

cooperatives. You know how a cooperative is run? You probably have some in Detroit I'm sure the unions have some which is no example really of socialist planning, because you can't possibly have socialism in a capitalist state, or a capitalist world, but it's sort of a bastard offspring of the collective socialist theory and that is, all of the people in the cooperative wants the store or wants his housing, share in the facilities if it's a store, if it's a market, they share the wealth. There's no owner of a cooperative. Not other than the people in the community who shop there. You see? And then they hire their technicians, their economists, the managers, and so forth. They pay them a salary and no one gets a profit, you see? And the would-be profit then goes back into the community and public facilities whether it's day care centers, whether it's hospitals, schools, and so forth. So, the Black Panther Party says that the lumpen proletarians seem to be the most revolutionary class here in America the working class of the proletarians proper seem to be on the decline, they seem to be suffering from reaction especially among the white worker. And I say this not because this phenomena has anything necessarily to do with color, but we know that the reactionary racist ruling circle has indoctrinated some of its victims to feel that he's

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superior to other people, other workers, and he's been able to pay them a few more crumbs so there's no qualitative difference between the black worker and the white worker, perhaps a quantitative difference, the white worker has more, he's paid off more, harder to get to because his stomach is full, he doesn't suffer the type of humiliation and insult day after day that we suffer. So we have to analyze all of those things also, but realize the white worker is not objectively our enemy. He's objectively our class brother and our class friend. This is even including the hard hats. Subjectively, they are definitely our enemies when they act as the hard hats acted. And much of the time when you want to act in a rational way, in an objective way, you have to deal with the fool that's gonna act subjective. And you deal with him you see in the best way that you can in order to preserve objectivity, that is, yourself because in this instance, objectivity is coming from you, you're initiating it. You're trying to establish sanity in the world, while your subjective enemy is trying to establish madness. I recall we choose sanity over madness because we choose happiness over sadness because we choose love over hate because we choose life over death, that we make the choice that we will preserve sanity and objectivity by even wiping out if necessary the persons who threatens that.

In other words, I say whoever, whatever, threatens you when you're acting in the interest of the people, that you have the right to defend yourself. Now if possible, your defense will be to educate. This if you're given opportunity but if you are not given that opportunity, then you have to deal with the situation. You see? You will transform it. You wipe out sanity, you wipe out insanity and sanity will prevail. And we can only have love my friends if there is sanity. You see? We can only have happiness if people are really attempting from reason, and from fairness, to deal with the situation. So I say while objectively the white worker, even heard hats, are your class brothers, that subjectively, many of them are your class enemies but there two different, there are many ways to handle contradictions. That is a contradiction. And a contradiction is when and I explain this because I see many young faces in the audience and I'm always tempted to, to enlighten because I think that it's a waste of time to do anything else. Because remember I say I refuse to give you feel good stuff and therefore engage in madness. So I say that it is a contradiction contradiction. That's a contradiction when these forces meet and collide even with your with your objective brother, which let's say the hat.



hat for an example and when he's acting in a subjective way. And I say that objectively he's your class brother because your interests and his interests they're actually the same you see. That is, that both of you need to get rid of the ruling circle because both of you are being robbed but if he's gonna defend the master because of the insanity racism then he's operating from a subjective way or he's from a subjective position or a position not based upon reality or his true interests, but what he believes to be his interests you see. So now when you oppose him or when he opposes you and you're working and both of your real interests the peoples interests then these are two different forces clashing. And this is what we say in dialectical argument that when two, when people make two different statements about the same thing, if I say the microphone is chromed, and you say, not it's, well when I say that the wall is white and you say no that same wall is black, then that is a contradiction because you see it cannot be both things at the same time. You see? And that's in dialectical argument. It's just for brief things because we want to keep in mind the inter-relationship of all things. In the physical world, we call a contradiction much of the time an example, we call it a, a, a collision. When two cars meet head on and try to occupy the same space at the

same time, they have a contradiction really. You see? But in the physical world, he call it a collision. Now most of the time when people meet they don't even have contradictions, they only think they do. They really they're most of the time they're being contrary. In other words, one person will say the wall is white and the other person will say the wall is ten feet tall, and they'll argue all day, thinking that they're having a contradiction. But really, they're being contrary because they're talking about two different things, but presenting them like they're talking about the same thing. But the both could be ten feet high and also white. You see? Or black or whatever the case may be. So we say that while the working class and while the proletarians do not carry the revolutionary potentiality, there's also a class on the decline, and the lupen class on the upsurge, that in practice that he will act just like the Revolutionary Workers League. So therefore, there's no contradiction in practice because we'll both act in the same manner. We'll both we both support the strike as far as I know that we both want the same end goal and that's the establishment of communism throughout the world it seems to me that it's just a different interpretation of a phenomena, and we say that the reason that their interpretation is probably wrong, is because they're relying

too heavily upon the historical fact and not upon the dialectics of the situation. Dialectics of the situation, that it would be very it would be anti-dialectical to say that things are static. So therefore while in history, the proletarians were the most revolutionary class, and practice in history they were but today they're being transformed but we're dealing with the same people. Remember I said things don't change they're transformed, when the worker the proletarian is kicked out because of technocracy, he would just swell the ranks of the lupens, you see. But he won't become not a human being so therefore we can see no contradiction in organizing the in factory supporting the League of Revolutionary Workers, and also stressing the fact that we know who will carry the banner. You see? So we say that this is dialectical and this is in keeping with Marx Lenin thoughts, because we realize everything is in transformation. It will be very wierd, very strange to think that while everything else changes, because everything else is transformed according to Marx and Lenin's theory, that classes and the potentiality of a class remains the same. Just rational thought can't would disagree with them. You see? Just pure reason will shoot them down. You see? So we say that based upon trends based upon our analysis of the phenomena that the Black

Panther Party has put Marx - Leninism on a higher level, and that not to be arrogant my friends, but you could check it out at our embassy, that 800, 900 million Chinese people, 40 million are Korean people, the people of Africa, Asia, Latin America, have stated that the Black Panther Party has inherited the legacy and will carry the world on to a new order. In other words, the Black Panther Party's a vanguard of the revolution on a world-wide level because the world is really one community and that we've taken Marxist - Leninist to a higher level and therefore we're the greatest Marxist - Leninists that ever lived, and we say this not to be arrogant because sometimes I wish that someone else would carry that banner because the way is narrow and the burden is heavy. But, we want to make it clear again that anyone can lay claim to this position but he must seize the time through not only theory but also through practice. Many times I'm criticized by my Party members of the Central Committee because they say it's in contradiction to my personality to talk about the greatest Marx and Leninists or greatest anything of all times. I think that this time it's necessary to point those things out, again not because of showmanism, because we're against this of all kinds. But we say that when the Black Panther Party stopped



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analyzing phenomena, using the most strictest scientific method, and using creativity that all human beings are endowed with an that Marx expected

(tape changed)

of all time but we will strive to serve the people both body and soul because we're merely servants of the people, we're oxens to be ridden by the people, we will shed our blood for the people, we will give our time for the people and we'll encourage the people to free us through freeing themselves. And that's why the cry should be free the Detroit 16, free all political prisoners and free the people. Now I will be very brief with this. Honest. Let me get a drink of water.. And if anyone is as thirsty as I am, I'll demonstrate .

We can call drink from this glass, but don't drink too much because your brother won't be able to drink any. Would anyone like a drink of water. Now there's there's one other thing I'd like to throw out and shortly that, well shortly we're publishing a book, it'll probably be out well, the later part of January and most of it will be concerned with the theory of inner-communalism, but because I, I always I jump the gun and I throw things out too fast, before they're written there's a thousand questions so I'll just give a brief definition of inter-communal-

ism based upon the scientific principles again of Marxism - Leninism and a fact that everything is under a permanent change of transformation. I said that the Black Panther Party or any communalists that were no longer internationalists were not internationalists for the same reason that we dropped nationalism at one point when we, when we were formed that we were nationalists or the narrow nationalist as we call it. And that is we're national showmanists. National showmanists for a good reason. Right? I say we're justified in holding those emotions but our position did not fit and did not, was not functional with the presence of the real world. You see? So we went from nationalism to what we call revolutionary nationalism that's revolutionary nationalism we went to we dropped that we disclaimed it, we denounced it, and therefore denounced our prior position because we're not ashamed of doing that because as I said we know that we're always in a period of transformation. You see? We went from what's revolutionary nationalists to internationalism. And we did this by offering our Vietnamese brothers troops and I didn't say a thing. I opened my big mouth and then I didn't get the doctrine out until later and because some confusion but I think the message got across. I think the message really got across to the people of Detroit after the 16

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and after the seige because they saw those two tanks roll up they saw that if they're gonna fight the enemy, that they're justified fighting wherever his head pops up, matter of fact that it's probably better to downing 10,000 miles away. You see? In order to keep him out of our community here. You see? So we see that the same agency, the same body, the same equipment used in Vietnam is also used against us here. So why not my friends why not destroy that machinery, destroy that personnel in Africa, Asia, Latin America and also in Detroit. You see? My friends isn't it true, it was the first thing that I learned in street fighting is the best defense is a good offense. And I used to hook when I got to jiving you see? And I would do that because I anticipated, I anticipated him trying to foul me. You see? So in order to defend myself that I would put my best hook forward. You see? And usually I would try to get him in a position where I could field with him, as as efficiently as possible and also I realized this: I realized if the man had a butcher knife in one hand and a machete in the other, that it wouldn't do any good my friends to grab the machete and leave the butcher knife alone. Because if I did that, I would be in jeopardy. I say

what you need to do is figure out some way to grab both arms to either restrain because remember friends, we're not blood thirsty, that's the enemy's characteristics. The people only want justice and freedom. We want to take the power away from our enemies, drag him down off of his high horse, and make him equal so he can't hurt us any longer. And then we'll love him. You see? But so we want to transform him really. Matter of fact, I think he will be much happier because we'll clear his conscience. You see? I think the capitalist has somewhat of a conscience. So I've said that first we try to restrain. When we see we can't restrain him then we have to take sterner actions. You see? Yes. So after their strength is proven, ineffective, then we'll try to disarm him. Matter of fact, I think that's very inter-related because everything is, you restrain you try to disarm. Right. Okay. Now if this proves that it will not do the job then what I'm gonna try to do, is cut both of his arms off and his head, too. And I'm saying while we saw the left arm of the fascist army in Detroit short time ago and we see it everyday because he violates the integrity of our community and we call it community where people stay and where they attempt to develop institutions that serve their interests, and these institutions are secure so that they could go on serving the people's interests, so they endure over a



period of time. So a community is really a comprehensive collection of institutions, established by the people, for the people, so we say that the people should control these institutions for their interest. Now we see that the ruling circle penetrates our community in every way to exploit, to humiliate, and also to violate or kill. One of the agencies of the ruling circle we're all very familiar with, that is armed forces, because after the ruling circle makes a decision, then he sends in his bullies, his murderers, to make the people do what his boss, the decider, has decided they must do even if it means bringing the people to their knees. You see? So they develop all kinds of ways to bring life to an end. They have gas chambers, they have guillotines, firing squads, tanks, they have what they call local police, what they call national police, and what they call international police. And what we call now inter-communal police, because we see no difference in the activity, not any qualitative difference perhaps quantitative ones, we see no differences in the way the police force acts in Vietnam, Cambodia, South Africa, Angola, Latin America, we see no difference in the way you act there and the way you act in Detroit. Because he uses the same equipment, he's there for the same reason, to enforce the will of his boss, the ruling circle. So we say the

right arm and the left arm must be cut off because while the right arm is in Detroit, the left arm is in Vietnam and so we want to mobilize the people against things. We want a protracted war so that we can finally transform the whole situation where war will not be necessary any longer. Many people think that the Black Panther Party will like to go around with guns in the new order. This is not so, that we're advocates of the abolishment of war. We do not want war, but war can only be abolished through war and only in order to get rid of the gun it becomes necessary to take up the gun. So therefore we want the best defense and we, for the purposes of a good strategic offense in order to end those contradictions. You see? Now, you've also heard many times that the statement that political power grows through the barrel of a gun and people take that to mean that when the Black Panther Party talks about politics, they're not talking about anything other than the gun. Aren't they so, how could they be so stupid. Don't they know that politics, politics are more complicated why do they always come from the gun? We say they are superficial and they're not understanding. What the term means is now really but at least we're quoted properly because that's the first thing in being objective. You see? In being keeping close touch with what people say and what

the external stimuli is all about. See now is the game when the external world through what we call stimuli or stimulus bombards the organism the sensory percepti, the sensory receptive system of the organism and makes an impression upon it. You see? And if this impression correlates to the objective fact assuming that there is an objective world, then we say knowledge results. You have some facts. And of course truth, truth is only a statement about the fact. Again a statement that correlates to the fact. But anyway, forgive me, I really going off of on a thing. What we're saying, we say we accept that statement political power grows through the barrel of a gun but to makes you understand it more clear, we will add something else. We say while it grows and emphasis is upon grows, through the barrel of a gun, it culminates and the ownership of the land and the institutions thereon. You see? And so the growing you see will also bring about a limitation. Every limitation brings about a determination, and every determination brings about a limitation. So while the power might grow through the barrel of a gun, it would also negate the need for the gun. And we claim to be non-violent. So my friends, I don't mean I don't mean to bore you any longer but I would like to say this concerning inter-communalism, that we do, we make these changes because we say that in order to be

internationalists, we must be a nation, nationalist because as far as I know that using definition of the word internationalism, inter means some corporation between and nationalism just what it says. It assumes the nations exist. So internationalhood. You see? So we say that nations do not exist, that's our first premise. We say nations stop existing when the United States, the ruling circle, became an imperialist and therefore established an empire. An empire is somewhat connected to the root word, or one of the root words, of imperialism. So if you believe that there is an imperialist, and he lives here in the United States, you would have to believe that his home is an empire, and an empire means a nation transformed and a nation transformed into a structure and a body that controls everybody else every other geographical location in the world. You see? If that is true it is transformed the whole world, violated the attributes, and the criteria that defines nationhood because one of the first directives of the nationhood is that you have cultural determination, economical determination, territorial security, and institutions that represent the people in that particular country which we now call community. So we say that taking under consideration the scientific method, taking under consideration scientific method and the scientific method as I



remember it correctly, the steps, is that first, that we will start off with a hypothesis, or a belief, we will attempt to test it, we will try to be somewhat detached and disinterested, not disinterested like we don't want to know, but disinterested because we are not necessarily wanting a particular outcome that we just want the facts you see. And then collecting data and in a way that it can be shared with others and so forth. I still remember that you know I haven't studied those steps in about fifteen years I guess. So but you study very hard my friends because, so that you could teach me. You know? Because you will know much more because I hope you will profit from all of the madness that is going on, as well as the, much of the beauty that is going on and that beauty is that the people of the world are uniting to defeat the reactionary capitalist and to establish a world free of war and a world where all the monsters will be destroyed and the world will belong to the people. But back to my definition, our definition. Because really, I'm just relying upon the English language, and the Marxist scholars, they they seem to forsake that. They're as bad as a lot of the old philosophers who dealt in metaphysics and because they want to seem so profound they would start stipulating definitions

to things that really have already been defined, and therefore, they're a violation because once the definition is stipulated, then we would have to acknowledge that and after it's used it becomes lexical, or a common definition. Sometimes we have to re-define things if that particular label is not functional. You see? But I can't see where, what we're going today, what I'm attempting to say is that the words internationalism, empire, imperialist, are words that I think that they're functional. You see? So we say that we're inter-communalists and we're not internationalists for the same reason that we're not nationalists and that is that we say there's no nation existence because the United States itself is not a nation it's an empire and therefore it's transformed the whole world and when we get back that that reasoning is dialectical is that reason rational, is that reason is a combination of rational and imperial, then I would be in keeping with the science and I would say that it would only necess, it would necessarily follow that there are no nations, there's no internationalism. The world is one community and who made the world one community? Not the revolutionary. Not the communist. The communist talked about a, one world, one community, where the state, where the of the state will wither away, and there will literally be no

state in existence because there would not be need for it. You see? Well, my friends, that it happened but it happened at the hand of the capitalist. You see? I say the capitalist violated every criteria that nation is based upon as soon as it became an empire. Now if you want to argue that we will, you simply have to start off with first that there is no imperialism and you could be an imperialist and not necessarily have an empire. And you could talk crazy and go back into the Roman empire, say well you have the Roman empire but still you have other nations who had economies that were in tact, but I would call this primitive imperialism because the Romans only controlled the known world. The known world. But there's some indication that some evidence but no proof, that this dog in the west controls the whole world. You see? And when I say dog that I'm not talking about the American people because they don't control nothing. You got some races running around here thinking that they have some kind of blessing with white skin and blue eyes but that's only because they're a victim of the capitalist again and the media and the institutions that forms values and thoughts, and cultures. Because after all according to anthropology, culture is simply, and this is a general definition, culture by way of

definition, are learned patterns of behavior. Alright? So and I said there's proof, there's evidence but there's no proof because it's sure that in the, the United States ruling circle controls all of the known world but there's some indication that all of the earth, all of the world, is known, as far as such a large part until you would generally accept my statement. So, if all of these, the criteria was violated and that there, that the world has really been transformed into one community, because we can't even call such countries like Japan, a country that's a victim of a colonialism. You see? Cause something else has happened. The economy is . The economy of the world the it's been so integrated into Wall Street until we could see no real qualitative difference. You see? And we realize that we have some people, we have, they have puppet governments usually natives now, and then we call it neo-colonialism, and then the scholars argue because they saw what they mean by neo, either it's colonialism or it's not colonialism. Neo. What are they talking about? Alright. So I told you I would be dragged off the stage. We have to go in a little while but let me run this down. So it's so integrated until the geographical location of the world I say there is only



a quali, there's a quantitative difference, not a qualitative difference. It's because the capitalist not only ripped off the wealth of the world, in centralizing on Wall Street, he also ripped off the people of the world. He to the Chinese and made them work on the railroad. To enrich himself, he crusified the Africans that 50, 50 million according to Basil, Davis, and Melvindale Herskovich (phonetic), 50 million of my people died coming across the middle passage alone, and only a few million of us was placed here starting in 1619, but if we analyze a whole slave trade, Europe and America the collective crime, that 50 million of our people were killed, crusified, murdered, starved, sufficated, jumped overboard, rebel and killed in battle. You see? So he not only ripped off the well centralized on Wall Street, he also ripped off the people of the world, ripped off the Indians, took his land, took the labor of the black, took the land of the Mexican people. See? The work of the Chinese. Through getting a surplus from slave labor he was able to accumulate capital in order to build the industrial base in the north. So therefore, we slaves built this big technological monster. We built it, we not gonna give it up. I'm not going back to Africa. I'm not gonna separate. I'm gonna take his head, you see? We're gonna take his head and then because

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they have a concept, I'll tell you a little concept in law. You know I went to law school about six months before I dropped out, because I didn't see where it was relevant, but I admonish you my friends that wherever you are, and I don't encourage you to go to this school, but I do encourage you to do this. My friends, learn. Study in order to serve the people. You see? I don't know the conditions here. Most school are like prisons. I hate prisons. And you've indicated that the same thing is happening here. So what I would do is have it up to you. You See? I won't encourage or I won't discourage, I won't, I won't, I won't persuade you not to come but what I because I think it's it might be it might be even bad for you to come here you see. But before you make the decision, analyze all of the facts. You see? And I'm not here to do that today, but what I will say I will emphasize over and over again learn to read, learn your mathematics, learn your physics, your physical science, your biological science, learn your history, your culture. Know that knowing it alone will not free you, but we need and every human being must respect himself as a human being and the people in this country try to deny us that so therefore we have to find out the genesis of man in order to contradict and refute

his lie. You see? And through this investigation we will find that we as human beings are of one family or homo sapiens of one species. We believe that. We don't believe that white people came from the earth and we came from heaven. We believe that we came from the same species according to all, not all but most scientific anthropological information the cradle and the genesis of man was my mother country Africa, south of Sahara, Dr. according to Dr. . I think you pronounce that man as was supposedly the the chain between the animal and man if you accept the theory of of evolution I believe they call it, if anyone can help me It's close enough. But anyway, so and this all people so my own indication that man was born from the African cradle, and probably black I accept that he's black with bushy hair like mine, black face like mine, big lips like mine, and big nose. Yousee? But remember now we're not showmanists so really that's irrelevant as far as any value to you as a human being. It only establishes first that all people are human beings and it kind of redeems what the white world did to us, it redeems the white world I say not what they did to us, only change in actions can start to create justice we've, I guess

we've never to be paid but I said that it does more of a service to the European probably than the African because after we get this information we find out that white people in spite of their actions are human beings. You see? Their actions might indicate that they were less than that. You know 50 million people in the middle passage. You know? But so we say that white people were born of us and they would have to be our brothers and part of us you see because if they are from us and then somehow we produce them, and a human being can only produce a human being. You see? As far as I know. But anyway, so anyway that so it's nothing to be arrogant about, it's a matter for establishing facts, you see what I mean? And then accept and love all people on the basis of a common characteristic. Now I have so much to tell you. I was gonna do a talk about the new world and the kind of culture that we'll probably have that we Panthers call an essentially human culture, that in the new world there will be less emphasis upon divisions and learned behavior or patterns of behavior which is culture because the world's coming so close together because of mass media because of development of the mass media and again I get back all these things clash at the same time, and I want to tell you, and this is why I mix everything up. But please bear with me, that



I was explaining how the capitalist violated all of the territorial lines. You see? And transformed nations of the community and while doing this he centralized the wealth. He does like the capitalist always would do. He will hoard the wealth, centralize it. He will create a monster, a monstrosity of a, of a technical base or a monstrosity of industry and by doing this by doing this limitation limitations because he's ripping off. It's a limitation and the view this is a subjective view. I call it a limitation because he's downing the people in doing this. It's also a determination because this is the way socialism and communism is created. Remember I gave you the example of 1917 when the capitalist started to establish industrial bases in in Russia and the people seized the time, ripped off the industrial base that they had created, that they had produced with their labor, expanded it and shared it. But we must admit that the industrial base was started to be created by the capitalist. So this is why we say that every limitation is a determination and every determination is a limitation. You see? So while the capitalist has centralized all the wealth of the world, violated all territorial land or controlled every economy culture and I say control the culture because of this: most of our surviving

Africanisms are no more. We only have a few. You see? I still think we have a few. According to Herskovich and Mrs.

we have a few. Ours like the base things upon people who have you know proven somewhat honest and have used some sort of rational method or to gain fact. You see? So I thought you were gonna drag me off the stage. So anyway the, we were transformed we were transformed because our culture was abruptly cut off and then using the mass media, the tv, the radio the newspaper the school, in order to reduce us. And I say reduce us because while we're transformed, you see, excuse me my friends, it's not, it is not good for me to use reduce. They used all of these tools to transform us, that's a,, a neutral term, alright? And I'm trying to be objective right now. Later on we'll be, we'll act crazy and be subjective after we establish all the facts, and then we say we'll put the theory of practice, and say we're gonna do it. You see? And then I'll be talking crazy to you, talking about if you don't believe in lead you're already dead. You see? And a .45 will stop all jive. A 357 will win us our heaven. You see? A P 38 will open prison gates. A carbine will stop a war machine. And then I think the end/<sup>that</sup> was the only poem I ever wrote. And then the end is if you don't believe in lead, you're already dead. You

see? But we're not gonna do that this evening. Come, come, my friends, come on. So we're not gonna do that this evening because now we need some information because the name of the game is survival pending revolution; you see? And this will be the theme of the convention and in Washington, D.C., the 27th, 28th, 29th of this month the theme will be survival pending revolution because we know that genocide is being attempted on black people, particular, and the people of the world in general, and in order to have revolution, at least people have to exist, because the people make revolution. So therefore, we say let's take first things first. Now it's not as clear cut as categorical as this, because I don't believe in categor, categories, it's overlapping. While we can win the broad masses in the survival program, we also can attempt to educate them, transform them to consciousness. We cannot feel, we cannot believe that we can go and put an M 16 off in Reverend Jesse Jackson hand. We're not ready for that. So what we have to do is first you see is make him realize the necessity for the society to be transformed completely, not a change in the establishment, but a change in the system. We have to make him know, that while he's talking about I am somebody, he should be saying I am a revolutionary, and

therefore, finding out or becoming conscious of exactly who he is. You see? I am somebody, but who are you. I am a revolutionary. And, but we like to hear Jesse Jackson say that I am somebody. You know why? Because that shows a man in search. He's trying to find out who he is and that's why that we encourage dialectical argument and we know that at some point he will find out who he is and leave the Black Stone Rangers alone and stop coming around here, you see, cause a lot of people have faith in him. You see? I want to have faith because Reverend Jesse Jackson is a class brother. You see? He's not a class enemy. I talked earlier about objective - subjective enemies. An objective enemies, just hit me I never went into that. A lot of times I do it. That's why I like the question-answer period really better than a lecture because we can really get together establish a rapport and you can remind me of things where I hung you up. You see? But an objective class enemy is one whose interest is opposed to your's. You see? If he's a owner, his interest is different than your's as a worker. You see? And this means that you are to approach that contradiction a different way, you handle it in a different way. Your subjective enemy you try to educate him, and your objective enemy you try to annihilate him or transform him. So that's the difference.



And we have to realize those differences in order to act in an intelligent way and learn how to manipulate the environment and cope with it. And all of you know what that means because I know what you have to go through each day just to cope with these teachers to stay in school. You know? I was suspended from school about twenty six times. I don't know why I stayed. Maybe cause I liked fighting, I don't know. Must have been something. No, I think I, I've always loved people and I like to meet my comrads in the hall and embrace them. You see? Maybe that was it, but my experiences were somewhat different than most of your exper, I hope so, because I didn't learn to read you see, until my last year in high school. When I say, read I mean this, it, saw, that's, that's one of the reason I used to fight so much you see? Because I didn't want my other comrads inside of the school room to know that I couldn't read and it was a little group of us you know, we were in what you what was called the dumb class. You see? And everytime it got, everytime it came around my turn to read, I would my partner so the teacher would kick me out. Therefore, I made, I remained, I kept the respect you see of my comrads. You see? And also, they didn't find out the secret, you see? And I jived like that all the way to the 12th grade. I learned how to read in the 12th

grade and I started college that next summer, studied twelve hours, thirteen hours a day, in order to memorize the notes that my brother took who was before me, and he would read them to me and I would memorize them and luckily the teacher would give true and false tests and multiple choice. So I would get A's all the way because he would give the same test. You know teachers don't like to keep making up same tests cause they use a key so they from semester to semester they just use cut outs to grade those things. So if he had switched up on my though, I would have been in bad shape. That's business.

But as I was saying before, I so rudely interrupted myself, no I said I'm not gonna crack jokes you know, but, but what I'm getting around to, I think I was talking about how every limitation is a determination every determination is a limitation, so I say at this time that the wealth has been centralized and one of the reasons that this is necessary in order to eventually free the people of labor it needs to be centralized and there needs to be a surplus so that you can create your base so to later on alleviate the people from toiling and working and living by the sweat of their brow, you see? In other words, you get a big enough surplus the people collectively they expand their base, they even take technocracy into something else. You see? And

after they do that, because they own the machine, they stand back and they don't work no more. Cause who wants to work eight hours or ten hours. You see? We'll free, we'll have a free block of time which is called leisure, and this leisure will probably be used because man is a creative creature if he's not thankful, if he's not crucified by educational system, according to Hote, I believe his name is Hote, some of you teachers probably know the book "How children fail, How Children Learn". Now you ask me why do I read all those books, you know. Why don't you just read some black history. Our brother will see me reading, after I learn how to read, this was a long, after I spent about, I guess I spent about two years in college almost then I could, I was a functional illiterate. You see? But finally I did learn how to read and from teaching myself, my brother before me he couldn't teach me because he was too impatient, and plus he was mad because he didn't see how anyone could be so stupid in this day and time. So but late, now he apologized because he realizes that because of the structure that they could be so stupid. You see? So but anyway that's something else. That because all the wealth has been centralized and I said, oh yeah, I was gonna make this example. It's necessary for someone centralize the wealth and in order to centralize

the wealth and produce your surplus, it must be sacrificed. But you can sacrifice you see for a cell that then you could be ripped off and you do all the sacrificing and the other person does all the enjoyables, present and future. And this is the logic of the capitalist and logic of the people is to eventually stop the necessity for toil. You see? This is the whole thing. I guess Marx was as lazy as I am. You know, didn't want to get out there and plow, didn't want to get out there and do all of that stuff cause I know that people would much rather use their facilities in more creative areas not in a area where they produce something or somebody else snatch it away just so they can get a few crumbs to, to fill their belly. When actually they create the whole thing. So if the wealth is not centralized if you never get that surplus, conceivably you can think of socialism you say well why why does there have to be a capitalist in order to do this. Can't it just happen where the people agree. Well there's some historical evidence that it did happen, what we call primitive socialism. When I say primitive I mean before reading and writing. You have socialism in Africa south of Sahara, in eleven hundred, and so forth, but it wasn't scientific social, socialism, or socialism based upon technology. So you might get in problems by doing this, and an excellent example



of this let me make this point right now. An excellent example is this. Now I, this is a good example and I swear to God it's, it's no offense because there's plenty of it because the capitalist is taking care of that. But let's say that at this time that we only have, yeah good example that right now I don't have four glasses of water. You see? I only have this much and say that this is some commodity that could possibly reproduce and make abundance. You see? All right? Say, say there was one say there was two little fishes. Yeah. Right. Say if you had two little fishes you know, three little fishes, okay? Three. I, I'm trying to give you a good example, three, three little fishes, okay? All right. Now you have three little fishes and say, that, did I say it right? Fishes? No, no, okay, fish. Singular, plural, it's still fish. All right, all right. Thank you. I know you're gonna teach me you see because, but anyway if you had three little fish alright? But correct me every time I make a mistake like that correct me but don't chop up my whole speech just because I don't know grammar. Hey look, say you had three little fish and you had a  
and you, you and this other fellow, let's say your class brother, say you guys were the owners of it all right? And so the people out there eating nothing but meal, and therefore

were not so healthy because they didn't have enough protein, they only eating wheat, not enough protein. All right? And these are the masses of the people. They, you're their friend you're holding these three little fish, you see? And that you take one of the fish and you break them up, you break it up and you share it with your class brother. Both of you own it. You see? You went in together. And say, let's go further than that. Say that, no I want to keep it simple. That you break it up and the people they demand they say that because of some events and so forth we're responsible for the existence of the fish in the first place, so if you were to eat that one fish that we demand a part of it, and matter of fact you got two swimming around in the pond, and we want to split that up too. You see? And the capitalist because he's greedy and so forth, says no I'm not gonna do it, I'm gonna keep it, and I'm gonna let the fish reproduce and lay eggs and so forth, and they're mine, I'm gonna keep them, you see? And this argument goes on, hostility increases, but in fact you see if maybe the people had a moral right to the fish, but if the fish were given over to them and they downed them, they ate them up, which if they had a moral right to this, no argument, say they did have a moral right, but, what will happen to the source of their protein. Now if the greedy capitalist you see, now the the people see, actually lay seige ion the

man in taking it. You know? Because I'm somewhat of a moralist you see and I can't be so coldly scientific in those situations. But my point is, that that's an example of centralization of the wealth, and the fact that kept in the capitalist hands for a period of time, that the fish would reproduce and if they had a whole barrel full of that and he still didn't give to the people, and then the people, he's ripped them off, took the fish pond, and keep, kept reproducing the fish. But if the man hadn't kept them, number one, he wouldn't have got the surplus, if he hadn't hogged them; number two, the people really wouldn't have gotten their nourishment because it wasn't enough. You see? See what I mean? So this is why that it's necessary for the industrial basis to, all right, the industrial base to be expanded and so I have five minutes I can't go on with that example and it was a, it was a vision that's why it was given you, I think in visions you know and that's very unscientific, so don't even quote me on that. But I think that this is just a little thing I threw out I think that as far as all creativity, it comes in the forms of visions, in other words, Marx himself, the scientist Marx, really had a vision. You see? He had a vision. And then he had a re-vision. He revised the vision, but anyway, that's so anyway so what we attempt to do, the Black Panther Party, we

attempt to to tap our creativity, accept the scientific method, and then have visions. So the theory of inter-communalism is a vision, and whoever changes that will revise it and therefore be a revisionist. You see? But what I'm trying to say is now the United States ruling circle centralizes all the wealth, took the people's wealth, ripped them off all over the world, including the people centralized on Wall Street, and therefore laid the foundation for world what, socialism? No. Socialism means state. Socialist state. Now Marx said you go from feudalism to, from slavery slavery to feudalism, feudalism is capitalist and capitalist is socialist state a capitalist state to socialist state to communism, which is non-state, a withering away of the state, where there's no national boundary lines and so forth. We see these things exist today, and it was carried out by the capitalist, but only is reactionary inter-communalism. You see? It's reactionary inter-communalism because the ruling circle had made the world one community but for it's own interest. So they're inter-communalists also, but we're revolutionary inter-communalists and we say that power to the people and that we want the people of all those communities to own and to control the institution in which they live, and the land they live on whether it's a community in Vietnam, or a



community in Hong Kong or a Chinese community in San Francisco. Whether it's a black community in Detroit, or a black community in South Africa, or a black community in Tanganyika, or a black community in, or a Mexican community in Latin America or a Mexican community in, in L.A., because all of these are more like communities than they are nations now, and then the capitalist have made the distance between the geographical locations which we used to rely heavily on definition of nationhood by showing a separation of a land through partition or sea or some other form of separation, you see? Partition, the sea, or a culture. You see? People very different, different languages, but what has happened? It, it took us five hours I believe to get here from San Francisco, it takes ten hours to get to Vietnam, nine hours to get to Algiers, Algeria, you see? So what is five hours, ten hours difference. You see? So I'm saying so we can't judge a nation on the basis of a distance. A long time ago, a hundred years ago, let's say, that when two geographical locations were separated for thousands of miles, say ten thousand miles, you call it another world. You know Columbus say, thought he was gonna fall off the world coming, trying to get to North America. You see? Actually he thought he was in India. But what I'm, what I'm trying to say is that so that's one of the

things we can we can just forget. You see? So we can't define nations on the on the distance or what kind of separation because the ruling circle can penetrate with rapid speed and high fire power no matter where you are. As a matter of fact, he's doing it and he knows that he's not a nationalist some some people think the American ruling circle think they're nationalists, they're not. See? They know they're inter-communalists because one indication, one indication, why is it they they don't say they have wars anymore. When they send the fascist army into communities, wherever the community may be, they call it a police action in Korea. They call it a police action in Vietnam. They call it a police action where they went in and ousted the rightful President Juan Bosch of Dominican Republic, which is acting strange now, but anyway, when they ousted him they were said to was a police action. So you have a police, there was a police action in Detroit, a police action in in in and when Detroit was re-named to Destroy It, according to H. Rap Brown, this was a police action. You see? And we see those agencies of the of the police integrate whenever their front lines are down, then they send in their second lines. What are the second lines? When they send in

their regional police or their local police as you call it, and they get down, they were chased out of here out of Detroit, then they call in their what they call the national guard. You see? And when they were chased out they called the other police agency in. The leathernecks, you see. And now they call in the tanks all the time and think nothing of it. And when you have a contradiction is when the people attempt to free themselves of reaction in towns, and Vietnam, you go in and say Nixon then will say well it's a threat to the American community. And I agree with him. It is. It's a threat to the American community for this reason: because the capitalists have made all of the lands of the world a part of the mass community. You see? So that they're transformed I'm saying that even after people win, and we will win, we can, you cannot backtrack history. You cannot, we cannot say we cannot learn Swahili and some African rituals and think that we can forget or backtrack the race. You see? So we have to accept that and say yeah there's a few surviving Africanisms you see, and that many things in Africa of old that are good and functional, much of it is not at this point. And we agree with the only culture that's worth holding onto is revolutionary culture, that is, culture

that's constantly in the making and change because it is not a stagnant and will be out of touch with the needs of the present day. You see? So this is what happened that I talked about the travel. Let's talk about the media and the culture. So then we used to talk about different cultures, different lands or nations in terms of different cultures, but I'm saying that there's a quantitative difference and not a qualitative one because like we been transformed either the people in the other countries are transformed such as the Japanese or they're in the process of being transformed and getting to the point right where we are. You see? Losing our surviving Africanisms. And I say this is a trend so therefore it proves as a matter of quantity that perhaps we've got more of the effect or suffered more of the effects. No, wait a minute. We've experienced more of the effects of the mass media, they are suffering because the small ruling circle is doing this. You see? So then they have but if the ruling circle is kept in tact and the people do not wipe them out, which I know the people will, then they'll end up just like we are. Not knowing their names. You see? So I'm saying that we cannot judge the nations then on the basis of a culture, because there's very little culture, cultural determination because of the satellites, because of transistor radios, because



of technology again. With the satellites, that the tv that you see on the six o'clock news can be seen anyplace in the world. And in fact it is in many places. And we know that the mass media builds culture. You see? So what's gonna happen. What we say, so that's another thing we cannot talk about as far as the difference in the nation. So what we say is this, make a long story short, and I could enumerate all of the same thing, make a long story short, someone's clapping because they want the long story to be short, a long story cannot be short my friends. A long story is long, and a short story is short. Hey look, so we want this to happen. Now I said I went to law school for a while that's a term I always like to say, because it's so relevant. The term is called in Latin it says, it's *trespas de bonis asportatas*. It, in English, the translation roughly, if I remember correctly, it's the taking away of the goods the taking away of another's goods, or someone else's goods, and then dominating them and controlling them like your very own. And that's called a tort you see, or it's it's a civil wrong. You could take the person into court, the person is usually guilty of this crime. This old English law about the sixteen hundreds but still/<sup>it's</sup>still a law in this, in

this country that of the, usually a person found guilty of this would be a landlord. For instance, he would be, accuse you of not paying your rent for dilapidated housing, dilapidated conditions, and then he would go in you don't have the money to pay anyway cause you're unemployable, you're unemployed, he would go in and seize the furniture, and seize the things that you need to live on. You see? And then use them himself. You see? Without benefit of any hearing or court action. So he's not, he's two violations, one, is more trecherous than the other. The first violation was a trespass. That's crossing the boundary on the threshold of yourdoor. You see? That's wrong. You see? He probably even made a rowdy entrance and you could have dealt with him if you had been home. You see? But you weren't. So he went in there and took the goods that your kids needed, took it up, ate it up, and he's already too fat. You see? So then that's the domination see like his very like his very own. Now how do you do I say it's a torch, you could take you have action in the civil court on this. You take him into court, and the first thing when he's found guilty because he would be. You see? When he's found guilty, the first thing the judge will say was is restore restore to this man what is his. The next thing

he will say because that's the actual damage, that you took the goods. You see what I mean? So restore it. The other thing and it was a violation to even cross the threshold without permission so therefore we gonna charge you, it's hard to add that up. You see what I mean? How can we add up, what does it cost you to, well how much does it cost when you violate someone's threshold? So it's call a punitive damages. He would have to pay both actual and punitive damages. In other words, pay for the goods, and then there's a penalty for him doing that. Now the United States ruling circle, they ripped off the people of the world, took the goods, and dominate them like their very own, built a technological machine that really belongs to the people of the world, so even if we talk about real revolutionist country, we have to think of it in terms of all the people in the world, because first, the old Africa, Asia, Latin America, you see? They owe the Indian. You see? They owe the poor white folks. You see? So, but the main point I'm trying to make usually in history when people have socialist revolutions, they just talk about a re-distribution of wealth on the national level. You see? Or they, the geographical location where the particular people have to live. But the United States, you can't even talk about a re-distribution on

a national level because it's not a nation. See? So, if it's not a nation, and you can't talk about socialist state existing, that means after you rip the dog off you'll go almost immediately into communism, because your economy would have to be bigger on an inter-communal level, taking everyone under consideration, that the people are ripped off and also sharing the technology, and everything else with the people of the world and that's what communism means. You see? When the people of the world rule, you see, and when you realize it's one world and there's no national boundary lines, people be going across commuting to to Ghana and Tanganyika and back to Detroit. You see? All in a day. But what I'm trying to say is so all those who disagree who claim they're Marxist scholars, I challenge them, and I say they're not dialectic, dialectical materialists, they're either historical materialists or else, or else idealists. And they might just be a non-thinker. Sometimes people mix thought up so bad I just call them a non-thinker. You see? But I'm not even gonna try to figure the mess out. You see? So what I'm saying is it shows you that inter-communalism will still exist after people seize the structure and I say the United States always already has a potentiality you see or to the structure of of sometimes I get a loss for terms to explain the



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concept and nope I'm not one of those old philosophers  
in metaphysics who wants to stipulate some-  
thing to you so I'll try to find a term

(tape changed)

different. This is all people of the world. I truly believe  
that. Now I base and I think that blacks will have to lead  
this and it's not belittling our white radical friends, but I  
say that blacks are, that we've been endowed again with this  
banner of revolution, and we have to lead in the structure of  
this whole thing because of this reason, and we'll have coalitions  
and so forth, but we still have a Black Panther Party, probably  
will, it's not believe we're separatists, it's because at this  
time we feel that our community's under seige, and we have the  
answers for the community of the world. And after we probably,  
probably even in the heat of the world revolution you see that  
we will no longer have coalitions, we'll probably have mergers,  
I don't know. You see? A lot of thinking will have to change,  
though. We'll have to do a lot of teaching, so white people will  
stop being arrogant and racist without even knowing it because  
they been so conditioned all their lives but at this time we have  
a Black Panther Party that's all black for self-defense reasons.

No other reasons. You see? That we can't risk at this point after history has shown us time and time again how we've been duped and so forth that we say we gonna for we know and we do have some qualities that seem to be international, excuse me, inter-communal, by, I don't say by instinct, because I don't believe in instinct, but remember I said that every limitation is a determination and every determination is a limitation, so therefore everything has a dual character. More than one side. The facts of the facts of slavery I told you how trecherous it was, it also carried some good qualities. You don't like that huh? All right, I'll show you. And this is only a speculation and if you disagree with me that I'll be happy as long as you disagree with me and use some some reason. You see? But I'm saying that I believe that everything has a dual character and not only do I believe that, I don't believe I'm relying strictly upon Marxist dialectics because African south of Sahara also believed that everything has a dual character. That's why in Africa south of Sahara our religion was dualism instead of absolutism and this is why that the African god always had at least two heads, and maybe five or six, one for fertility, one for evil, and one for good. You see? And this was dialectics

within itself. You see? So he tried the African tried to stay in favor with the good head and out of favor with the bad head and so on and so forth on down the line. You see? So maybe this was the start of , I don't know. But anyway, alright, I said the slavery, the positive side, was this: while it abruptly cut off, we noticed that people with 2,000 3,000 years history unbroken such as some of the Jewish people, you see? Some of the Chinese people, but Mao's taken care of that with this culture revolution and so forth. But people probably some of the African people too, you see, who weren't

you see first I would bet                                would have a hell of a complex about being what do you call himself, king of kings? You see? When you have a long unbroken history, it's good, it's beautiful, you refine things and so forth, but also you're more apt to come to become arrogant, you're more apt to say that I would do this because my father did it so many years before and this is a characteristics of the ruling class. You see? Because he rides around, he's non-productive and he says that I will ride in a limousine becasse my father rode in one and I'm better because my father always did it his way and he was better. You see? So he's living in the past and on, according to, well

anyway, those are upper class values. Alright, alright, alright. But anyway, listen and this is the last thing and I'm not gonna hang up any longer. The the the black, we blacks because of the abrupt cut off, yeah, we suffer like Halie probably and some of the others, and whites too, you know and I mentioned the the religious thing. It's because you're victim to the past because you're chained to it. Now we're cut off, we lost a lot of positive things, but we also must realize and stop this looking back and the problems that we have today we look to the future for solutions and that's a communist characteristic. We always say that they say that Huey how do you feel and I could be in bed very sick and I say that I'm better, but I don't know that yet. But anyway, I'm saying that blacks could not look to Africa for the answer, you see, because our culture we don't know enough about it, Number one, and then our culture was so broken and we have and there was cut off and then slavery existed, so now we are dynamic we look for the future for the answer, not the past. You see? After the conquest. So on a international level, because we were dispersed all over the world, every time we see a black face and bushy hair and the person might be all, might be 99 % transformed, we would feel, I feel a certain amount of brotherhood on those facts. You see what I mean?



And I'll admit that, knowing all the time that we could be more different than we like, but probably know that the man suffered from the white world but anyway because we're dispersed it's easy for us to accept and even if the brother has a completely different culture, just about if he comes with an English accent if he comes with a Latin accent, and he acts Latin or acts English or we might say that brother he sure is cold. You know? He's trying to be some he ain't. See? He know he isn't native. You see what I mean? When all the time so in other words we feel this this togetherness and we feel rejected if the facts don't pan out and that's why we get a lot of young brothers and sisters being turned off when certain African leaders make certain statements that they probably shouldn't have made anyway, but I'm saying so we're internationalists or inter-communalists and we're more tolerant probably than other people because of our past experience of suffering and because we can tolerate other cultures or accept a person that's still a human being and still as a brother know even if he is different. So I'm saying that we only relying upon one or two characteristics. Now if we be real objective we could establish this humane or this humanitarian culture based upon the fact the human beings are so similar, in fact, in other words, instead of

having just a black face and bushy hair you see like me you could have two eyes, a nose, a mouth, walk erect, you see? Hair, and so forth, and we could go on and on and add these things up and see that the man is more basically human and our differences are petty. You see? So this is why I won't go about that. But I could because as I said, I try to handle all things at one time so it sounds like conglomeration of distortion and unrelated thing but if you have faith in it, believe me they are inter-related. You see? So I would like to say that the Black Panther Party invites you to Washington and that we must free the Detroit sixteen and that we must unite against the world enemy number one, who is located here in the United States, and the people of the world must have solidarity, and then advance wave upon wave upon the reactionary races and then the whole world will belong to the people. Monsters of all kind will be destroyed. And then we will live happily ever after.

Power to the people.

I deserve that don't I? All right.

(First speaker)

On behalf of the Black Panther Party, and brother Huey P. Newton, we the Association of Black Students would like to express our great appreciation for their time in relating to us the Black Panther Party's position in relating to our common oppression. Right now I would like to say will everyone please remain in the gym until the brothers have left the building. Thank you.

People can I have your attention? Will you sit down please. Will you sit down? Please give our good brother a chance to leave the grounds please. Thank you.

I'd like to thank all of you black brothers and sisters we have participating in this event today. Thank you for volunteering. Will you hold it please. I have an announcement to make. We have an announcement to make. There's a free Angela Davis defense committee starting now. As you leave the exit the building, we're working for the National Office in New York they trying to get a free paper started so if you have anything to contribute, will you please stop and see us at the end of the back, please. Thank you.

SF 157-1203  
JLC/sad

B. UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN  
ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN  
NOVEMBER 17, 1970

On November 17, 1970, NEWTON spoke at Hill Auditorium, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan. SF T-39 made a tape recording of NEWTON's speech at the time of delivery. Following is a transcript of the tape recording:



Speech by Huey P. Newton

Hill Auditorium  
Ann Arbor, Michigan  
November 17, 1970

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First Speaker: Mr. Huey P. Newton

Newton: Power to the people brothers and sisters.

I'm very happy to be here tonight and I want to thank you for my presence because if it wasn't for the power of the people I would still be in the snakepit and for that I applaud you, and all I can say is all power to the people. Tonight I would like to talk with you about a few things and I hope you bare with me because I'm not eloquent and all, I only have a message one single message and it's not based upon fancy phrases, clauses, it's based upon survival, survival through service to the people. Unfortunately, I'm not able to entertain, that we don't feel that it's necessary at this point or important to entertain. We must work very hard together to shed some light upon the situation today, the conditions today, in order for the people to live. We are threatened at this time with genocide. So things are very serious. A short time ago, the fascist forces violated the community of Detroit and imprisoned sixteen members of (blank tape). It was not you or me. I say but for fortune. Because I'm sure that the fascists do not discriminate in that area, they're universal. They're universal tyrants, they violate every community in the world. They violate the university community. They violate the Chicano community. They violate the Indian community. They violate the poor white community. They exploit

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and they kill the people. They imprison, maim, and murder. They seem to follow one logic and that is: make trouble, fail, make trouble again, fail, make trouble again, until the very doom. While the people also follow a logic, we will fight, fail, fight fail, until our victory and the doom of the aggressor. On the 27th, 28th and 29th of November, there will be a peoples revolutionary constitutional convention in Washington, D.C. We invite you. Because without you there will be no convention. You must understand that without you there would be nothing, there will be no society would not exist, leadership would not exist, history would not exist, because you and you alone make world history, so therefore you truly have the power. Much of the time we do not realize our power so we say that we're unconscious, we're asleep. In order for us to actualize in order for us to actualize ourselves, to free ourselves, and to expand and engage in productive creativity, we must first become conscious. And at this point the chief issue should be consciousness. The convention will be based upon, the theme will be survival through service to the people. We feel that it's necessary to offer a survival program knowing full well that a survival program is not in itself revolutionary. Knowing full well that a survival program will not bring about the transformation of society that is necessary in order to have freedom, justice, and equality.

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But if we do not have a survival program pending revolution, there will be no revolution because we might suffer genocide. We might not be here and if we're not here then of course no revolution will ever take place. So we are very practical revolutionists we say that the Black Panther Party's program of service to the people through health clinics, through food for the children because we know that our children could be permanently damaged because of malnutrition and once the damaged brain we will get damaged ideas, or ideas that are so wanting that it will fail us as a service, it will fail us as giving us some idea and some program and some strategy to change the conditions in this society and subsequently change the world. So we are very honest, we say that our ten point program that we offer, as it will be offered at the constitutional convention, is not a revolutionary program, but now it is a reformist program. A program is reformist only when it will and stifle the final transformation. All programs that will involve the people in the struggle; all programs that will lift the people's consciousness; all programs that will aid the people in their survival; all programs that will lead the people to struggle in order to change the conditions of this corrupt world, would be classified as a revolutionary program or a seige leading up to



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revolution. We know that we must be educated in order to deal with the very complicated situation. Today the world is very complicated. When I was a boy, what was so was so. What was not was not. Now I am a man. Things have changed a lot. Some things nearly so, some things nearly not. (unintelligible) In order to approach the complications, in order to approach the type of oppression the people suffer today, we must approach it with the formula that will most likely lead us to an understanding of a condition. We see that first this society, the American empire, is a highly-developed technological society. And sometimes it's very intimidating to try to figure out some way to what is our's. Sometimes it is very difficult to understand this and tonight I feel it somewhat of a honor to speak to you at this university because I will first assume, I will start out with a premise that the people here, or most of them, are interested in learning even though they might have come from the wrong place. As I said before, that I won't give a feel good speech and sometimes I'll tell the truth and I wish I could but I don't know how so all I can do is engage you in a lecture. But it won't be the same kind of lecture that you experience with your professors because we're not gonna start out with any

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dogma. None whatsoever. We're gonna start out as objective as possible. We will do this in order to understand fully the conditions. The conditions under which we suffer and we will try to do this in such a way that will give us a clear picture of our condition, not a subjective picture. But an objective picture and after we get these objective facts, then we will apply a little subjectivity. In other words, we will use the theory of, or will use the maxim of, we will integrate theory with practice because that's what the Black Panther Party is all about. We feel that theory is no good. We feel that knowledge is no good if we do not apply that knowledge in some way that will serve our interests. So tonight we will start out by trying to understand the social forces that cause and that is causing our suffering. And through talking to people as I travel throughout the country, it seems that for some reason there's some misunderstanding about the Black Panther Party. Perhaps it is because of the mass media, perhaps it is because of the educational institutions or the institutions that miseducate. But what for, whatever reasons, people seem to be somewhat shocked and somewhat surprised that the Black Panther Party operates from an ideological position and that position was arrived at through an analysis that gave us some insight and some

understanding of phenomena. In order to understand things usually especially when there many things are interacting and operating at the same time, we try to work out some formula. We try to work out some process of testing. We try to isolate certain variables. We try to control others so that we have a constant and we let certain variables play freely. We do these things, and we do it in the name of of discipline we call science. The Black Panther Party is found, the Black Panther Party as the principle that we call dialectical materialism. In order to understand the conditions in the world today, we have to develop a formula just as to understand numbers, we have to develop formulas. Just as in algebra and reasoning that we have certain equations that will solve certain problems for us when it is applied to certain unknowns, that there also certain frameworks and formulas used to understand other phenomena. In the physical world, it is commonly agreed that many things happen at the same time. Most people of learning, scholars they like to call themselves, agree that in the physical world things seem to be in a constant state of flux. Flux, flux, all this flux. In the physical world we notice that when we speak of banner, when we speak of phenomena, we use a discipline we call physics, and we notice that in the physical world, things to be in a constant state of transformation. We notice that the atoms, protons and neurons,

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we notice that atoms collide with each other, subdivide and subdivide again, therefore transforming themselves into neutrons, protons, or protons and neutrons I believe. Please give me help. It's been a long time, but the principle of the matter is that something happens when the physical forces clash. They don't disappear but they seem to transform themselves into something else. We see that in the world today whether it's the physical world or social world, we see that there are many forces. In sociology, and if I remember, and I keep saying if I remember because I've forgotten most disciplines that I studied some ten years ago, but I believe that the sociologist also recognized and will readily stipulate that social forces seem to clash also. Now when social forces clash, transformation occurs. The sociologist explains this partially in a theory they call a culture change, when two groups or two cultures meet, they are modified by each other. Both showing change, sometimes one showing more change than the other. Some sociologists who are not very objective say that the stronger will show less change and the weaker more. Not qualifying exactly what they mean by stronger and weaker. So we know that something will happen that the characteristics and the attributes of both will change. So



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from that you see a correlation between the physical world and social world. We Marxists criticize the social scientist or the sociologist. We criticize the psychologist. We criticize anyone who will try to explain a particular set of forces or particular event by taking it out of its environment because by doing this we do not explain the thing that we're attempting to explain, but we've transformed the thing itself by taking it out of the environment so therefore if we do not consider all of the forces, if we do not consider all of the variables at the same time and understand the inter-relationship between everything, we are not gaining knowledge, we're not coming to any truth, but we're dealing in mischievous madness. So this is why that I start off trying to explain the inter-relationship between things. So one of the principles of the social scientist who is also a Marxist would be to recognize that things are in a constant state of transformation. I sort of jumped the gun, because first, I would like for you to stipulate with me so that we can have an intelligent conversation that the physical world exists outside of ourselves, independently. I asked you to do that because without that stipulation, I would leave the stage knowing full well that you might have something. But at the same time knowing that in order to have an intelligent conversation, at least we

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would have to stipulate our first basic premise, because it's very difficult to test or prove. So our first basic premise would necessarily be based upon a belief, and then we will try to follow some consistent argument to a valid conclusion. So first thing, the physical world exists externally and independently of ourselves. Second thing, the thing seems to be and in fact are in a constant state of transformation. After we agree to that, and I will take silence as agreement, we can go on. Because it's very important because tonight and not only tonight I will confess that I never ask anyone to accept my conclusion. I never ask anyone to accept my belief. It's very functional to have people to stipulate a first principle. But all I will ask you to do is to follow your own basic premise down to consisting conclusion. If you do not do that, I will criticize you. And that's my function. That I believe that we can arrive at what is to be done by through combining theory with practice, combining rationale with empiricism and therefore relating to the real world. I mentioned rationale being combined with empiricism. And I mention this because this is another stipulation that I would ask. Matter of fact, that I take that back, you don't even have to agree to that. Not necessarily. I would be bold enough to make the statement that without understanding that history doesn't

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really prove anything, without understanding it, rationale and not necessarily based upon reality, if we do not understand that will be very difficult to arrive at what is to be done. Empirical evidence is based upon observation and experience. But, with that alone, first we can never predict or speculate about the future, and it cripples us because it doesn't recognize the constant state of transformation. If we act strictly upon observation and experience, we will see things in a static way. We will say that the lights are burning, the light is burning. And it will be a simple mind this kind of statement, because it will not take under consideration while the light is burning, it is also consuming itself. So therefore, while the light is burning, it is also becoming a dead light. And because it's becoming a dead light, part of its characteristic will be a lack of light in order to conclude that we would have to integrate something else into just our practical experience. In order to understand the real world because the real world is in a constant state of transformation and our statement based upon empiricism tend to be static. How do we get out of that bind? We get out of it by integrating rationale by integrating reason, as Emanuel

called it pure reason. Integrate that with the real world of observation and experience, integrate rationale with the fact that the real world exists and we gain knowledge

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through observing but it will take it a step further. Why can't we use it alone? We cannot use it alone because it doesn't necessary have any relationship to the real world, that rationale could be strictly a symbolic and an abstract process. In other words, I could very easily say and he perfectly, a perfectly valid statement if the sky is above my head and there's nothing in between my head and the sky, when I turn my head upwards I'll see the sky, rational. If the sky is above mu head. So the sky might not be you see? So what we will do, if first use the process of observing and experiencing things or relying upon historical evidence, and then realize also that thing is in a constant state of change, and therefore apply rationale and say while "A" might be happening, it's also will cause "B". And it will cause "B" because when we get a certain combination of forces operating together, they will rationally and logically cause "C" to happen. So what've we done. We've integrated rationale with empiricism and therefore we've come up with the new concept. It's called dialectics. And I say this is universal because with this method we can have we can analyze just about all phenomena and we refuse to take a particular force out of an environment, so therefore we have to understand all of the forces surrounding it. You see? And we will do this by applying the theory of dialectics. You could have a dialectical argument



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and you have that by one person offering a thesis and the other person offering anti-thesis. You see? And hopefully we will come up with the                      so by those two things conflicting, by one person making a statement that opposes another statement, the other person's statement, after it's argued long enough, if both people have to be consistent, they might come up with the conclusion different than the two people's former statement. You see? So that's a dialectical argument. Transformation through argument. You know Socrates used that a lot. In the physical world again a practical application of dialectics. Well first I would like to say this. That process that I just explained to you, would be really the solution of the revolting of a contradiction we call it an argument. In the physical world, we call it sometimes on common terms we would call it a collision. A good example: when two cars meet and try to occupy the same space at the same time, both are transformed, we call that a collision. So after we have laid down the necessary agreement that will go on with our discussion because now we're prepared to have an intelligent discussion, in other words, we won't be contrary. You know much of the time when people meet they think that they're having a contradiction, and really really they're only being contrary. Example: if I say the wall is ten feet tall and you say the wall is red and we argue until we fall down and foam at

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the mouth, we're not having a contradiction, we're only being contrary. In other words, the wall could be ten feet tall, and also that particular color. When we understand this, we'll stop wasting time, we'll start jiving. In the physical world, when we speak of things being contrary, it means that they're covering a different amount of space at a different time and therefore there's no need of further explanation. In other words, the same two cars. If you turn them back to back, and both of you giving them gas in forward gear, you will speed off apart and you'll be contrary, covering miles and miles of different space. You see with less friction. So after we have that down we will see that to approach any situation we need some method. The Black Panther Party chooses to use the scientific method, as based upon empiricism, empirical evidence, but also coupled with rationale and therefore we get a new method, which is called dialectics. We also assume, I said we also assume that everything comes from a material source. This is another assumption and we say this because in order to understand the world in which we live, we always start out with analyzing some material thing in order to understand religion we have to understand the functions of the brain. I think that it will be very difficult for one to be religious without having the mechanisms of the physical, the brain. You see? If it can be done, I know method about it. Therefore, I assume that even the

spiritual is arrived at through the material. Furthermore, that if man did not exist I would assume that the intangible would not exist. In other words, the assumption says that it requires a man to entertain a religion, it requires a man to entertain anything that is spiritual and anything that is intangible. So therefore it seems that the material is greater than the spiritual if we want to measure greatness in terms of which came first. You see? So first thing, that after we have this down, I know you're wondering where I'm going, but you'll have to wait and see. You know, I would like to interject something in my own discord and that is that the Black panther party supports the League of Revolutionary Workers. We see no real contradiction between the League of Revolutionary Workers and the Black Panther Party. There is an apparent contradiction, but we're not in the state of dismay because of that because we're social scientists, and a social scientist is not impressed by the apparent, he wants to penetrate facts and get beneath, see? (blank tape) Be apparent, penetrator and understand those things that are really a fact. Sometimes the apparent they're deceiving so in order to get past it first, we say that we have to be disinterested. By being disinterested, it doesn't mean that we're going away from the situation, it means that we will not will any particular outcome, that we'll attempt to ascertain the real facts

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of the matter. We will not be deceived by certain indicators that do not really report the truth. And after we get these facts we can better understand the situation. (blank tape)

The methods we use because I would like if you appreciate that method, that you start applying and perhaps you will come up with some sanity, perhaps you will come up with some truth, perhaps you will come up with some knowledge. You see? And if you don't appreciate it during the question - answer period, offer me something, offer me an alternative and we will have a dialectical argument. And if you convince me I'll readily give up my old beliefs and my old conclusions and I will adapt yours. Now, as far as the revolutionary, as far as the League of Revolutionary Workers are concerned. Time and time again I said, that we want solidarity with the League of Revolutionary Workers more than that. We would like to even merge with the League of Revolutionary Workers. More than that, that we will even drop the name of our party if the League of Revolutionary Workers will show us that they have analyzed the phenomena in the social conditions correctly and have come up with valid conclusions. Now, I said that we have no real contradiction with the League of Revolutionary Workers, that is, in practice. We will find that the practice of the Black Panther Party will not conflict with the League of Revolutionary Workers. It will correlate and it will sometimes be the same.



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Probably most of the time it will be the same. Or the theoretical level. There probably will be a contradiction but I always like to leave that theoretical world, somewhat divorced from our practical actions because the people do not have the extravagant of time and the extravagant of condition to wait for us to split hairs and come up with some abstraction. The people need service, the people are suffering, and we can only alleviate that suffering through relative actions that would aid them in the alleviation of the oppression. And this will only come through practice. Now, where would the contradiction be. I said that we might have a contradiction in theory. First of all, I think I'm not for sure I think that the source of the contradiction evolves from an essay our Minister of Information wrote some time ago called "On Panther Ideology". In that essay, the Minister of Information Eldridge Cleaver, who's now in Algiers, Algeria, manning our embassy, claims that the lumpen proletarian, the lumpen proletarian class, the left wing of the working class, the most revolutionary class, and probably would carry the revolution banner and will probably be the vanguard in the struggle and will probably initiate the creation of the new order. While the League of Revolutionary Workers say that this is not possible, that how can the lumpen proletarian, the lumpen proletarians who Marx and Lenin made Marx and Lenin despair. The lumpen proletarians

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that some trans, that some people translated, the words to come. The lumpen proletarians to seem to be useless that is in Russia, 1917. The League of Revolutionary Workers set forth the theory that the proletarian class or the industrial worker will be the vanguard and will carry the revolution to its final climax and therefore initiate the new order. In other words, they'll say while the proletarian class may not be the most revolutionary class at this time, they do carry the most revolutionary potentiality and with development they will become and in fact history shows that the proletarians have always carried the banner so therefore they will carry it as a president in the future. The Black Panther Party says something is wrong with this. It's also pointed out by the League of Revolutionary Workers some of the representatives or may I qualify that. It has been rumored. All right? Perhaps I'm not giving fair representation to the real theory of the League of Revolutionary Workers, but let's assume that my statement was fair, and if my statements are not fair, then I will accept criticism during the question - answer period. Now, it's also pointed out by the League of Revolutionary Workers that the proletarian class is the most popular class and that history shows that minority has never created the socialist order. A minority has never created a revolution has never been the vanguard. Not a minority class anyway. You see? So there-

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fore the lupen proletarians in this country I will stipulate with the League of Revolutionary Workers are definitely a minority. I would also stipulate a minority class has never carried out a successful socialist transformation. I would agree with that. But I will not agree that the working class in America, in North America, I will not agree that they carry a revolutionary potentiality as a class. I will not agree that they will be the vanguard of the revolution, even though they represent the most popular class and it is necessary for the revolution to be popular. It sounds like a contradiction but I might inform you that it is not. It's only paradoxical. It seems to be in conflict but if we investigate it together, we'll find out, that in fact there's no contradiction. In Russia in 1917, a revolution occurred. One class clashed with another, and the society was transformed. A man by the name of Marx and a man by the name of Lenin, Lenin following the thought and the formulas of Marx, not only did he follow the thought and the formula, but he applied in a creative fashion, he applied it in a subjective way because anytime we apply the knowledge that we learn, automatically it becomes subjective because then we will have a particular result. Therefore it's taking it out of its purer form. So a Marxist - Leninist is a person who knows his science of dialectical materialism

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but also a person who engages in practice, therefore integrating our theory and practice. Lenin realized that there was a conflict between the worker and the owner but he would not be satisfied at at at at acknowledging that contradiction he also was somewhat biased. He willed that the working class or the proletarian should be in control of the means of production, and the wealth that they produce. Because there's no wealth without work and he felt because of this, subjectively they should have that wealth. And incidently, I agree. But at that time in Russia, 1917, the proletarian class was the most revolutionary class, shows the most revolutionary potentiality, but also at that time we must know our history, that Russia was a feudalistic society and it was an agricultural society, that the peasantry was the most popular class; the industrial worker was the minority but because of the collection of social forces in operation at that time in 1917, the proletarians were destined to be the most popular class, the proletarians were destined to carry out the revolution, because feudalism was on the decline, therefore the peasantry was on the decline, while the working class, or the proletarians, were on the upsurge. An industrial base was created in Russia by the capitalist. The industrial base was created in Russia by the capitalist I say that runs us into another concept, while the



capitalist created through his profit , an industrial base, he also moved against himself by laying a foundation for socialism, therefore, that we understand better the theory of the negation of a negation. We understand better while every determination carries with it also a limitation every limitation also carries a determination. What does that mean? It means that while the capitalist plans to centralize the wealth, exploited the people and developed an industrial base, they also laid down the necessary structure to create the abundance that is needed in modern socialism. And in order to do this, the people suffer, so I'm not taking issue or promoting one or the other, I'm only saying that it seems, in order for society to develop, some kind of surplus must exist. And it so happened that the capitalist accumulated the surplus, but only for its own use. But only for that surplus to be appropriated at some later date. If the peasantry was not at a stage of taxity and taxing of the land consuming most of the things that they would grow, that a surplus would never develop. So what I'm saying is that because everything is always in a constant stage of transformation, everything has a dual character. It has two or more sides, and we must know all of those sides. Now we already have analyzed the Russia situation and we see that in Russia while the proletarians was the most, were the minority, while the peasants was the majority,

the proletarians carried out the revolution, such as today. This this country while the vanguard while the class with the revolutionary potentiality, in order to carry out their potentiality must be the most popular, we see the capitalistic owner is taking care of that for us. It seems to us especially analyzing the situation in your plants here in Detroit, the plants of Detroit we see that because of the development of technology that the development has gone from let's start at automation and cybernetics it's probably now going into technocracy and as it develops from stage to stage under the leadership of the ruling circle and with the guidance of a profit that they will try to streamline the machine so that people will not be needed. So as technology develops, people are not needed and therefore it would seem that the proletarian class as it exists today is on the decline. It's on the decline because the capitalists are casting the worker on the junk piles of society, casting him in the gutter of society, making scum of him because he's not needed and therefore swelling the ranks of a lupen proletarian or the unemployables. We see that if this is a trend, if it's in fact true, that the trend is moving into technocracy if technology is not static if the capitalist's motive is to make as much as he can and to pay as little as possible, it's only reasonable that he will hire as little people as possible. So the Black Panther Party claims that

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if he's left alone that eventually he will have a man probably employed, but a man so specialized, a man so skilled, so we cannot call him what Marx called the proletarians. He will be a technocrat, and the vast majority of the people of the society would be unemployed and the vast majority of the people would not be needed, and the stage will be set for genocide. I say this because genocide could take many forms, probably the most humiliating the most hurting that slow form, where you slowly kill spiritually as well as physically that form where one feels useless. So if it is a fact that technology is going on developing and that a revolution might not occur tomorrow, or the next day, that the lupen proletarian class that the Minister of Information talks about will not only be, carry a revolutionary potentiality, but will also be the most popular class, setting the stage for revolution. Lenin himself said, that he visualized the time only he assumed that the people of the communist world will bring it about that a man would be able to stand in one place, press buttons, and move mountains. It sounds like to me that even Lenin realized that because a class carries a revolutionary potentiality at one time, because a class historically carried out revolution, does not mean that it will remain a revolutionary class. In fact, some classes have ceased to exist. And if it is true, it will bear out Lenin's prediction. One class that I'm sure that we can

or maybe that we can stipulate that is no longer is existence, almost out of existence. So generally, we can say that well virtually, the class is not does not exist any longer. And that is the slave class. The slave class was transformed into the wage slave. And if one class did not, if one class was transformed out of existence, then through reason it would tell me that another class also could be transformed out of existence. So, if my logic if I'm being logical it would mean that in order to understand the class that carries the revolutionary potentiality I would also have to understand trend and all of, all of the other social forces and physical forces that are that are in existence at a particular time. And I think that all of us are worried about it. All of us agree that technocracy is on the threshold of reality. We know that we cannot depend upon the kindness of the capitalist, we know that we cannot depend upon the sanity of the owner for our welfare. So we can only contend, we can only imagine we can only conclude that he will follow the logic that is in his best interest. Because you see the owner, is an objective enemy. His interest is different from our's. There's two kinds of enemies. There's a subjective enemy and an objective enemy. A subjective enemy should be dealt with in a different manner than an objective enemy. A subjective enemy is a person who believes that his interest is something



other than what it really is. So that person might prevail against a class brother and he will do this because either he's drunk with ignorance or he's drunk with racism, which is ignorance. And even feels institutions of learning to perpetuate ignorance. So, now that we've lost our hangup that the proletarians have to carry out, have to necessarily carry out the revolution, we see that that's all they, historical materialism. We see that that's only mechanical Marxism. We see that in order to be a real Marxist, one must be creative. One must know how to apply the formula and we must not just reapply and keep getting the same answer and say that we're getting knowledge. We've already done that we'll go from there and try to understand "it", the unknown. And as we understand the unknown, then we've really done something worthwhile. So we will stop going around saying that well it has happened like this time and time again in history, so it must happen like that in the future. We know that that's (blank tape) subjective enemy sometimes we mix it up we think that he is an objective enemy. And we treat the situation perhaps in the wrong manner or maybe we'll aggravate it. Surely, we would not be understanding to social conditions. For instance, the hard hat situation. The hard hats are exploited men, they are black people's class brothers, objectively. Sub-

jectively, they are our enemies. We will attempt to enlighten our class brother if we're given opportunity, but if our class brother and subjective enemy is too provocative, we would have to deal with him in a appropriate fashion, because the first thing we must maintain sanity, and we must not let an insane man win, because then insanity will prevail so in order to make sanity the reality, to make sanity reality, objective reality, we might have to take his head but we wouldn't want to do that. Nope, we wouldn't want to do that but we would like to be given the opportunity to handle that contradiction in a way that would be in our interest and that is we would like to see some unity based upon the common experience of being exploited by the owner. Now, I'm very long-winded, and I would hate you people to walk out and leave half so I will hurry along and I will just drop a few things and maybe that we can cut it up during the question - answer period and I hate to drop things because I feel that it's unfair that when you throw out terms people usually attach to them their or when you throw out words, people usually attach to them their lexical definition. And much of the time a lexical definition does not serve the scientist. Because he's dealing with some very precise and some very difficult set of forces, and if things are taken too loosely, then we wind up in a contradiction that's unnecessary. Based

upon a lack of clarity. But anyway, that people are interested in the fact that the Black Panther Party started out as a black nationalist organization, a black nationalist party. 1966 October. We moved from black nationalism to what we call revolutionary nationalism. That is, nationalism coupled with socialism. After becoming more aware of the conditions in the world, after coming more aware of the nature of the conflict, after after becoming more aware of our true interests, we dropped revolutionary nationalism and we were transformed into internationalists, and we moved with ease from one stage to the other. We moved without embarrassment. We moved because we are true Marxist - Leninists and we moved because without embarrassment because we realized that everything's in a constant state of change, and we're no exception. If we remain static, then we will not understand dialectical materialism. So the transformation was very easy. As we became more confident, then we merely moved from one level of consciousness to the other, and we encourage this. We moved from revolutionary nationalism to internationalism because we saw this in our best interests. We moved from internationalism to a high level of consciousness. Now don't jump the gun, I expect many of my friends to get uptight. When we claim tonight that the Black Panther party, the

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Black Panther Party will from this day, from this day on, embrace or reject brother inter-nationalism. We are no longer inter-nationalists. We are now what we call and I would like to give a definition to the phenomena because I think this is an appropriate time to ask for another stipulation. And it's really necessary because I'm going to use the word, that perhaps has no common useage or has no lexical useage. So therefore we have to start out plain and we've done this because the world has changed so much until the old terms do not apply. We are now inter-communalists. We're inter-communalists. The reason that we're no longer inter-nationalists, the reason that we're no longer inter-nationalists, is because the world has been transformed to such an extent, that nations do not exist any longer. Now let's go through that very carefully. We claim that no where in the world is there a nation. If you will agree if I can get a stipulation that the United States is an imperialistic country, and that one of the root, the root word of imperialism is empire. Then imperialism is an empire that the United States, that would mean that an empire is a nation transformed. The United States used to be a nation, the United States or the American States



used to be a nation, but it was transformed by the ruling circle into an empire and you cannot have a particular land space or particular country being a nation and an empire at the same time. The nation when it expands its authority across its own territorial line, when it controls every country in the world, either in fact or by proxy, when we would have to consider that country an empire, because its authority is extended to such an extent until its characteristics are much different than a nation. If it controls people of a different culture, people of a different language, people in a different area of the world, and if it does it on a world-wide level we would have to agree that the country is an imperialistic country and an empire. Now, if the United States, if the United States, if the American Government if the ruling circle, if the landstate that we call North America, if in fact it is an empire, and in fact that things are all inter-related and if in fact that we cannot change a part without changing a whole, we would have to agree then that when the United States became an empire something happened in the world. That thing is something did occur. A transformation occurred. The countries of the world were transformed, they were transformed from nations into something else. We would call them communities because we feel that they're whole being was . We feel that it was like them being transplanted to Chinatown of

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San Francisco, or transplant it as the Africans in Harlem. We feel that the whole economy of the world is now being dominated by small ruling circle. We call him an imperialist. We we understand that when there's one change, in a thing that's connected to everything else those other things will also show a change. So how can we possibly say nations exist and also say that the United States is an empire. We would have to come up with some other term. Some people came up with the term well a colony. Others say there were neo-colonys because they didn't follow the tradition of the traditional characteristics of a colony. And so it became somewhat controversial of actually what happened because most serious-minded people understood that something did occur. We feel that at one time that the countries of the world were colonized, that the mother country sent foreigners to the country to dominate natives of a country. And the natives were the majority, and many of the natives in the country, most of the natives in the country, never came in contact with the foreigner, his culture was not effected if he didn't live in the immediate city and much of his rescurces were extracted and taken to the mother country, but you still could say the people existed as a separate . But

something else happened. The domination became so exclusive until the people resembled another people we know that the scholars will say are no longer nationals of another land, but merely dispersed communities with the past based upon another land and another language. In other words, black people in America were taken from the mother country. Their lives were sold, dominated, and controlled, their culture stripped away so almost thoroughly, until we resemble we do not resemble in culture what the African resembled in the eleven hundreds. As a result of our captivity, as a result of our indoctrination, as a result of the of the brutality, as a result of our people being completely indoctrinated through the mass media and other forms of brain-washing, that we were transformed into something else. And I say that we could see a great similarity now between the people of the world and the many ethnic communities here in this country who were even stolen from another land and controlled by slavery or else shanghaied or shackled and brought in to work on the railroads like the Chinese. So, we see very little difference so we see no qualitative different between the community of Chinese in Chinatown in San Francisco and the community of Chinese in Hong Kong. We see perhaps a quantitative difference, that is, that the Chinese in Hong Kong may show less change at this

point, than the Chinese in San Francisco, who've been here longer. But you see the same process happens. We see the same apparatus at work. We see that the United States not only, the United States ruling circle, not only robs the world of their raw materials and centralizes them on Wall Street, they also rob the world of its people. So judging this, let's analyze what inter-nationalism is. Inter means what? Means the inter-correlation or an inter-cooperation between two nations. So therefore to be an inter-nationalist, you would also have to acknowledge nationalism. To be an inter-nationalist you would also have to be a nationalist. Because inter is only the relationship between the two nations. But if the United States is an empire, and if the United States has in fact transformed the world and robbed them of every criteria characteristics that would make them a nation, then inter-nationalism cannot exist, simply because nationalism does not exist. So the only way that inter-nationalism can exist is the fact of the existence of nationalism. Now, what is a nation? First, just a general definition, a functional definition so that we can understand each other. A nation at least has to have some control of its economy. A nation has to have economic determination. A nation has to have cultural determination. A nation has to have control of its political



institutions. A nation has to have control of its resources. But we see that the countries of the world today have no control of their economy. We see that the countries of the world today have no control of their culture because their culture has been a process of change but only at the leadership of the ruling circle. We could see this very clearly, when we see what happened to us. I say that we could see this clearly, because we know what happened when a culture is put in a, people are put in a situation where they're constantly bombarded by a stimuli that opposes what they once were. They were changed. Now, if each nation in the world or country in the world does not have economic determination, cultural determination, if it has very little control, matter of fact over political institutions, I would say that it doesn't qualify the nation and I would say most countries of the world; I will say all countries of the world, do not fit this characteristic. Number one: a hundred years ago that we could truly say nations existed because one of the main things that

you have the nation was the fact that you were separated from another people. You were separated by land, space, water, by language, by culture, by dress, by your national character, and in order for even a stronger army to approach your shores and violate your territorial integrity, they would

have to travel for months on end, and while they're traveling you could be preparing to receive them. Be their friend or foe. But now what has happened. There is very little difference in travel time between coming here from San Francisco, and going from here to Vietnam. It takes five hours to come from San Francisco to here, and ten hours to go to Vietnam from here. So that means that just because you're divided by water or land space, doesn't necessarily guarantee any safety of your territory. That means that it doesn't it becomes somewhat insignificant when we start analyzing what a nation is all about. When we see the black people in this country all dispersed, in other words, that we have a Watts community, we have a community of blacks in in Detroit, we have a community of Mexican - Americans in San Jose, we have a community of Mexican - Americans in Harlem. In other words, that the communities are dispersed but you see they all evolve around a super-structure. We see that the ruling circle's in control of their destiny, and we see that the ruling circle is also in control of the destiny of the people of the world or the communities of the world. So that would mean that there's no independent race and you're not protected by distance. Now let's talk about culture. We will say that some other people have a language and a culture that's so different

from the ruling circle until we can they can qualify the nation out, I don't know. I would say that if you analyze it very closely, you would see through the development of technology we will see that we have the satellite, tv, we will see that the power of the fascist army will force the standards of the ruling circle upon the standards of the people, violate territorial integrity at any minute that he wants to, just as he violates the territorial integrity of our communities here. What is a community? A community is a collection of institutions that serve the people's needs and the people can conceivably can live within the confines of that community until they expire, and be somewhat happy and somewhat pleased that most of their needs are being met. But a community also evolves around some nucleus and that is usually the state administration. So we have varying regional differences between one community and another. But at the same time all of the communities are effected by the master or the ruler the ruling class in this case. So we see that the communities of the world or the countries of the world more resemble dispersed communities than they do nations. So we see that something has happened. Something very strange has happened that Marx and Lenin thought that the revolutionary forces would

usher in the withering way of the state. But something else has happened. The capitalist ruling circle has in fact withered the state away. There are no more states, there are no more nations, because the ruling circle has violated every characteristic that would rightly or that would not rightly, I don't like to use subjective terms unnecessarily. The ruling circle has in fact transformed you see nations. And because Marx said that there will be a time where the state will wither away and all national boundary lines would disappear and then communism will be the order of the day. We find that something else has happened that the capitalist has violated all the territorial lines, took the wealth of the world, put it on Wall Street, controlled the people, and therefore made one world community, but communities under seige, under seige by the fascist. One world community that's being brutalized by the ruling circle, and that is why the United States Government will not acknowledge any warfare any longer. Wars do not exist any longer. The communist talks about the day when we will no longer have wars and now the capitalist is talking about no more wars exist. We had a police action in Korea, we had a police action in Vietnam, we have a police action in Detroit. We have a police action in Connecticut where our Chairman Bobby Seale being tried and Ericka, in New



York 21 these are all police actions because they're domestic disturbance. So therefore the ruling circle treats the world now as one community. So he's a reactionary inter-communalist and he says that while the Vietnamese are rioting and disturbing the peace, order must be restored by the police, the universal police. We see very little difference between the local police that violate the territorial integrity of our communities here in North America and the police that violate the territorial integrity of the communities in Vietnam. We know that we're both so controlled that we don't qualify as nations, therefore we blacks here in America are not the first colonies and the BPP thought we were. We're not. We're dispersed communities but also the people of the world are also dispersed communities and what we're demanding we want revolutionary inter-communalism to be the order of the day, and this can only occur after the ruling circle is down and the structure that has been created by the capitalist will be shared with the world. The technology that we produce, through slavery, the technology that was produced through ripping up the raw materials and also the people of the world, would have to be shared. And, this would be necessary to take, in order to take, carry on revolution. So let's think of our community now. The United States, the only country that I know

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of, that in order to have a revolution it would have to think in terms of redistribution of wealth, not on a national level but on a world level because it's ripped off Asia, Africa, and Latin America. So, so we will see that if a world community, redistribution of wealth does not take place, no revolution has taken place. We realize that it can't even take the form of reparation because how could you give or set amount how could you even offer assistance to a people who have built one of the strongest industrial complexes in the world. One of the people advance technology how can you pay back a people who have produced the wealth and also the people that you sold the raw materials in order to build the machine with. How could you how can you talk about reparation. All you could talk about is proportional representation and a communist framework on a world level. All you could talk about all you could talk about is the world sharing not only in the wealth that the United States exploited from the people, but we also have to talk about the people sharing in the machinery and that that we produce. Remember in order to have a socialist or a communist world, we also have to have a highly-developed industrial base. Now some people have been wondering, some people are wondering why is it that in the Africa, Asia, Latin America those countries who are struggling

for freedom, justice, and equality are not going into capitalism. Now Marx himself thought that the science he developed law of lines were maybe for slavery feudalism from feudalism to capitalism, therefore capitalism being revolutionary because for most of the people were feudalism and then from capitalism or capitalistic state, to socialistic state, and then from socialistic state to the withering of the state, and one world, you see? But in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, something else is happening. We see that the people seem to be going from feudalism to something resembling socialism. In other words, they're ripping off their bourgeois bosses are really just puppets for the United States ruling circle, and they're creating a collective order and I fail to call this socialism because it's not what Marx defined as socialism. What it is is more like I would agree that it might be some form of primitive socialist accumulation it's not really this. So we would call, I would just like to call it the people of the world in some of our communities have ripped it off and therefore have liberated territory. The people some of the people for instance the Chinese people the Peoples Republic of China they are really one big community, one big community that's liberated territory and a provisional government. In other words, it's very similar to the National

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Liberation Front, who'll agree that the revolution is not yet completed but they have much liberated much liberated territory in South Vietnam and they have a provisional government where it's a little makeshift government. You see? But it's whole existence is based upon strengthening itself and giving the people a survival program so that they can so that they can organize the people and guide them towards eliminating the aggressor and forming a free community. Now we already saw that a community is a collection of institutions that have that that have existed over a long period of time, therefore it's somewhat stable. So therefore, a community is really just a comprehensive collection of institutions, that really serve the people. But now we see that the communities of the world, the institutions of the world, are not serving the people because the ruling circle controls them. And if this is the case, that it will mean that in order for us to have real justice in order for the people to prevail, in order for the people of the world to have control of the communities in which they live, it would be necessary it will be necessary to make certain changes. First, we would have to eliminate the person who causes the person who denies the community this freedom. So we also realize the world is not so inter that we cannot push history back. We



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And I say that I have a right to do that. But, because the world is so small now, because the wealth of the people have been centralized on the Wall Street, because the media is developed with so much until has lightening speed, because the people's wealth in the world is centralized on the Wall Street, the people of the world cannot go into a capitalist period simply because of this: it's absurd to think that they can. In order to get into capitalist period, first you have to have a surplus. In order to have a surplus, you have to be in control of your national resources. It's as absurd to think that the people Africa, Asia, Latin America can go into a period of capitalism and therefore promote themselves to some kind of independence and it is to think that black people here in America in ourdispersed communities can also have black capitalism. How can we have black capitalism when the why can we have black capitalism when our communities have already been robbed of labor and silver and gold and the capitalist has control of it. So if we if we are kept capitalism, all we'll be is the flunkies for the super - capitalist. Because we would have a so to follow my. to follow my theory, too, to its final conclusion, That would mean that what's happening now in China in a very progressive country, what's happening in North

Korea, is that the North Koreans have liberated territory, not all of the community, because they haven't liberated the southern part. But we would say that what has happened is this: is that it's very difficult to think that the people of the world can do anything other in liberated territory because it's very it's very similar to what happened here '67 in Detroit, that if the people have been able to control their communities after they've drove first the local police, their national police and then the inter-communal police out, if we have been able to control that an institute of provincial government, it would have been no more than just liberated territory because first in order to have it have control of it and give the people what they need, and really say that we're independent we would have to have the wealth that's really our's. As long as the wealth is held by the capitalist who got it by trespassing and got the wealth by robbery, we would have to say that it's not really a nation that a matter of fact the Chinese say themselves they say that communism cannot really exist until the capitalist's down the ruling circle. They also say that in order for us to realize the real socialistic state that we would have to first deal with the capitalist. Why? Because the wealth that could or the commodities that could be consumed by the people are consumed by the military machine, in for self-defense. So the ruling circle really

controls China, because it's robbing the people of the things they need, by forcing the people to defend themselves against the aggressor and therefore putting what would be, what would be consumer commodity like hospital, homes, schools, into the people's hands and put it into the military machine's hands. You see? And is this necessary? Yes, because they have to hold their liberated territory but don't pretend or fool yourself, that they cannot give the people what they want until the redistribution of wealth is actually a fact. So, if all of this is really true, if it is a fact that all the people can do is have some primitive form of socialism, if all they can do is really have liberated territory for the purpose of liberating the world, therefore liberating themselves, then it will be very clear to us that the world is one community but remember I said earlier, I spoke to you about the negation of a negation. I also I spoke to you about every determination is a limit has a character of limitation. Every limitation also has a characteristics of determination. That means that there things always have a dual character. So, while slavery was transformed into feudalism, feudalism into capitalism, capitalism laid the foundation, the structure for socialism. You see? It laid the structure through hoarding a surplus and using it for the owner but at the same

time making the possibility for that surplus to be ripped off and distributed in some way and therefore instituting socialism. So therefore, capitalism has a good and a bad characteristic. Excuse me, capitalism has both say characteristics of determination also a characteristic of of limitation. In other words, while it devotes itself to the capitalist, and expands the capitalist base it also lends itself by laying the foundation for its own destruction, that is socialism. Now now what has happened is this: what has happened is this: that the United States have centralized the resources, the wealth of the world, and put it on Wall Street, Rockefeller, Ford, and so forth, they're among cliques. So what is necessary is this: is that while capitalism has caused many problems and much suffering, it's also laid the foundation for communism. I would contend that the United States would never be a socialist state because socialism means that the redistribution of wealth can be considered on a national basis. You already agree with me or you indicated through your applause that in order for a revolution to really occur in America that the redistribution has to be on a world level. So that would mean that this is different than anything's ever happened before. So, the United States, the United States will ask that the industrial areas, the United States is really



the urban area and the people of the world the countryside you see? And what is needed is the people to seize the means of production is located in the urban area and if we have to choke the urban area by by liberated territory until finally the people in this country in this war zone are able to deal with the ruling circle then this would be necessary and it further proves, it further proves that the world is one community so now we have the situation where after what happens after the doom of the ruling circle. We will not go directly into communism because I don't believe we will before after structural change is also there's always cultural lag in other words, the values of the people will lag behind the structural change so we will still have inter-communalism only revolutionary inter-communalism because then we will have the mechanism and the the apparatus to wipe out backwards thinking such as racism, we will have the apparatus to wipe out the kind of ignorance that that's demonstrated and perpetuated by the ruling circle. The people of the world will have seized control of this mechanism, will use it for their interests. So we would find that while we will not backtrack while people will remain effected by each other and modified by each other, and transformed by each other, this would not be for the interest of a small group. It will be for the interest, the true interests of the people.

So then the people after see the structure, created for us by the capitalist, we will then start after the redistribution of wealth, or the proportional representation, we will start creating a culture that is essentially human. We would do this along lines of first investigating, and realizing what is in the best interests of man. We will first do this by concluding that we probably do have a common interest. We will probably do this by first agreeing that man is a homo sapien or of the same species. You see? And if this is true then we probably have some things in common. You know much of the time that we are jump to conclusions, we feel that you know what is a fact is not. Now black people in the United States are probably exposed to be probably the most revolutionary people in the world and I say that without showmanism, I say that after analyzing the situation. I say that after analyzing history and also the present. I say that because black people in the world are have a tendency power the people of the world. Black people in America have a tendency to identify with people of different cultures all over the world. One person that he identifies with very quickly and feels a brotherhood towards no matter what he's from Germany, no matter what he's from Latin America, no matter whether he's from Asia, no matter whether he's from Africa. That

is another black man. And he will do this because the first thing that will strike him, and he will see the same man in bushy hair and his black face and he will identify with this man or for a number of reasons. First, the physical characteristics are so similar. The second thing, that he would automatically feel a certain amount of warmth because of the fact of oppression and racism in the world today. Now, this makes the black man of America somewhat an inter-nationalist because the person

from a different culture. This makes him somewhat tolerant even though sometimes he's sort of teed-off because he say that's like you over there with that British accent trying to be something he's not. He knows he's another brother. You see? So this identification I say in the new world will be expended.

I'm saying that the color and I'm saying that the texture of our hair is only one characteristic that identifies us as brothers and as one. You see? We can have 99 cultural characteristics that will violate this. And most of the time we talk to an African or a black person from another country who was born there, he probably has many things in common with his countrymen and few things in common with us. But we have this identification, and I think this is good. But I think that this will be

expended in the new world and I say it will be expended because finally, we will see that there are many other characteristics that will make that common bond and that is probably more characteristics than just the physical. Probably we will see that the fact that homo sapiens have two eyes, a nose, a mouth, two ears, arms, stand erect, we will see that the man uses language and we could feel the wonders with him because we will see that the man is a human being or homo sapien. We could, in other words, we can just extend the characteristics of hair and face, see? To other characteristics. Now we feel now that this is impossible; we cannot do this and I say under the present regime, no we cannot do it but because everything's under constant state of change that we know that this too will change. And we want it to change in such a way where we won't put ourselves in a bind. We know that if we gain our freedom, if we blacks gain our freedom and if we treat people that we've detreated those people would have a right, those people the real human beings will start scheming, those people will start plotting to do to us what was due before. So we for for for our generation for our children we will not

them we will not create for them a problem that we can avoid. So we will start thinking in terms of ways of inte-



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acting. Now, because the ruling circle is guilty of many crimes one of the crimes he's guilty of and now I'm being redundant, it's not even interested but I just want to add this: that ruling circle is guilty of what when I was in law school, I learned what's a trespass, a particular kind of trespass, it was called it's a tort. A civil wrong. It's called a trespass di bonis asportatas. It means it means it means that first you trespass to go on someone else's property, seize someone else's goods and then took them home with you and dominated them like your very own. And this is a tort. Usually a landlord is guilty of it when you don't pay your rent due in because your house is dilapidated and you don't have a job and he comes in and usually when you're not home, like a thief in the night, and takes your furniture out, takes your food that you need to feed your kids and uses them without any consideration without any kind of justification. Then if he's taken into court, you could have a you would have a civil action against him, you see? And you could probably file a collect not only actual damages but punitive damages. First, he's guilty on two levels. He's guilty because he violated your threshold, or your territory, secondly he's guilty because he stole your goods and then used them.

This is exactly what the ruling circle did to the people of the world so they're guilty of *trespas di bonis asportatas* and we're demanding, we're demanding actual damages as well as punitive damages. Now the people of the world do not want, do not want revenge. But, it will be left to the people of the world to decide which man is the war criminal. You see? Now I.

now as far as I'm concerned, I would encourage the people of the world just to collect the actual damages, but I am not the decider, matter of fact the decider has to answer now. And I don't want to be put in that position. So, after considering all of this and after acknowledging the fact the world is all one community, whether we like it or not, we would and after knowing that history we cannot throw the world back into history and create a nation because the world is too small for that. After doing all of this, we we're better to we better try to understand each other, we better try to live together and we better know our real friends and our real enemies. After we get this knowledge, we'll know who to attack where and we'll know how to go about solving the contradictions that are existing now. We'll know how to approach the problem from a standpoint of reason and not a standpoint of madness. You know some people are going around here talking about creating a nation in the United

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States talking about creating a nation in the United States not even considering the fact that the United States ruling circle not only controls the communities here, but will not let a nation exist 10,000 miles away. Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, South Africa. So, we would also see that if in fact those are not nations they are treated as communities because they have some police action going on there, too. If that is a fact we know that we have to deal with the enemy in all of our communities. And this is why the Black Panther Party offered troops to the Vietnamese people in the feeling of solidarity or inter-communalism because we see the necessity we see the necessity of first demonstrating not only to the people of the world but also to the unfortunate soldiers who are there who are duped by the ruling circle who are duped into going there to kill people in that community. We happen to have many blacks there and I'm sure that if members of the Black Panther Party are accepted by the National Liberation Front, we'll be able to recruit, we'll be able to encourage our brothers to join our rank we'll be able to encourage our white radical friends to come over to our side, so that we can free the community and place the power in the people's hands. So this is why that is why that we make this

offer to the Vietnamese people in particular and not the people of of Mozambique or Angola even though if they did ask we would readily go. But the reason was a very strategic reason on one hand because we don't have any black American troops in in Angola fighting against those black Africans even though if we don't regain our sanity we might be there because NATO is already there. American machinery is already there because Americans supplied the Portugese who are dominating the Angola people and the machinery, the firepower that's used to kill my people in Angola marked with the star and stripe. Because because the Portugese happen to be a member of NATO. You see? So we think we're justified and we'll go further than that that we will offer troops to anyone anywhere because we do it all as one community and we will not just fight and try to liberate one of our communities and let the others be dominated, that we will fight for once and for all to liberate all of our communities. Now we see that the fascist agency of the ruling circle has his right arm with the butcher knife in his fist and Asia and in Africa and he has his left arm with his hatchet in Michigan in Detroit, in Watts controlling the people there. So what we would like to do at the same time to seize both arms, remove the butcher knife and if we can, persuade the man to become sane again because in



his real interest, if he knew what was good for him then he wouldn't act he is he does because he's jeopardizing his life and everyone wants to live. So, what we're really doing is attempting to place before the people, to place before the ruling circle, an alternative. We place before him goodness and evil, sadness and happiness, love and hate. We place before him life and death and we encourage him to choose life so that he and his descendants may live. This is the alternative, either that the ruling circle will change it's ways or they will suffer the consequences. Now, the Black Panther Party would like to ask, we would like to ask that the people of this community come to the aid of the Detroit Sixteen. We ask you to come to the aid of Angela Davis. We ask you to come to the aid of Chairman Bobby Seale and Ericka who is now on trial in Connecticut. We ask you to come to the aid of all prisoners of war and political prisoners. Free all political prisoners. Free the Soledad brothers. Free the people. In order to free the Soledad brothers, in order to free all political prisoners, first you would have to free yourself because you are also a prisoner. And remember and I leave you with this thought. Now first we're gonna have a question - answer period, huh? Well anyway, I would like to, I just had a little thought. That, because of the charges of because of the

transformation of the world today, we could see that the nationalist, the nationalist has the same attachment to his nation that the peasants in 1917 had to the soil. We see that the nationalist we see that the nationalist is so caught up and so determined by that attachment until it's difficult for him to think in terms of manipulating the total environment. In other words, that you remember during the revolution in Russia, the peasants resisted because after Lenin some people they mistakenly told them to go in seize the lands for yourself and didn't explain what you really need is collectivity that the peasants went and did just this. And then it left the burden on Stahlin and he was very criticized him rightly and wrongly, because he had to make cooperatives and stake farms out of that land in order to create order to develop industries that didn't exist. In order to develop a socialist society. So you see the difficulties in dealing with the persons attached to the land. Don't be attached to the land, be attached to life. Be attached to love and be attached to the people. This is what we want. Hey look I have a, I have a hundred notes here saying you always talk too long when you gonna give the question - answer period. So I have a lot of other things to talk to you about but I'm not. The question - answer period is now open.

Male: Power to the people, brother.

Newton: Power to the people, comrad.

Female: (unintelligible)

Newton: We feel that they are human beings and they should be treated as such. We feel that all human beings have a right to exist. We feel that when any person is violated then the people of the world should come to that person's defense.

Male: (unintelligible)

Newton: The question was how did the Black Panther Party feel about homosexuals and lesbians. I'm sorry, from now on I'll repeat the question.

Male: What's the latest on your trial?

Newton: Oh, yeah, I forgot about that. I go to trial January the 11th, and I meant to ask you that they'll try to put me in prison again, you know in maximum security, now we're in medium security you see. And I will ask you, because I know you have the power so I'm not gonna ask the judge, and I'm not gonna ask a few people who happen to be sitting on twelve chairs. I ask the people to keep me out of prison. And because I know because I know that the people have the power, so this is why that we must always come to the aid of our comrades because sometimes we're not conscious of this power and we'll ask that this we can't do

anything, but as soon as we become conscious we always produce we always get what we want.

Female: Chicago there's no violence in the streets just self-defense and what did you mean by that?

Newton: Will you repeat your question please?

Female: You said in Chicago there's no violence in the streets, just self-defense. What did you mean by that?

Newton: Well I don't remember saying Chicago but I'll I'll entertain that anyway. Well in the first place, it's I believe that the Vietnamese people are only instituting self-defense because they didn't initiate the attack, they are defending themselves against the aggressor and we have to understand the difference between the aggression of the ruling circle and the fascist army and the self-defense of the victim. Every person and every people have to raise to defend themselves, not a not a fact an obligation under duty, so therefore the Vietnamese people in order to defend themselves in their territory are lodging an excellent offensive for defensive purposes.

Male: Well, considering what you said about this identity thing, you know. How come I can't join the Black Panther Party.

Newton: The first thing, a very short time ago the Black Panther Party offered troops to the National Liberation Front and we did



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it in revolutionary solidarity to our brothers in the community of Vietnam and we did this realizing that in order for us to go there we had to be accepted by the Vietnamese people. We also realize that the Vietnamese people while they do not represent a nation, they do represent a community. A community under seige. So, the Vietnamese people have acknowledged our offer. They acknowledged our offer and they said that they would take it under consideration. They said that they would take it under consideration and that they would give us a decision in the near future. They have rejected troops from from Korea on the basis that they didn't need them right then and the Korean people could do better by driving those fascists out of South Korea. So we say this: We say that the first thing that the United States or the American of the North American regime the ruling circle has dominated and laid seige to all communities. And in within the United States you it's a pluralistic society, or have you have many ethnic communities. So what we really want is control of the institutions in the community in which we live. You see? And that if there happens to be any other ethnic group member of groups living in that community of course he would have democratic participation. We don't want to exclude anyone, we want to make sure the people in a particular community

who have a particular point of view are not dominated. So if the community in Harlem is no different than the community in Korea, the community in Vietnam, and if we have to go through a procedure in order to send troops there, we we we would like to thank you for wanting to join the Black Panther Party and join our community and we will consider it and let you know in the near future.

Female: Can I ask, can I ask you why when you said that the Black Panther Party receives bad coverage in the press in the United States you spent two hours talking about Lenin and Marx and everything that is in books and didn't inform these people about what's happening right here to blacks. I think you know that's a real problem. I wonder why you wasted two hours talking about what's in books and people need to know what's happening here.

Newton: Hey, would you repeat that please? No, no I was reading the notes here, I'm sorry you have my most humble apologies. Please repeat. Yeah, Oh, OK alright.

Female: I wanted to know, when there's such a problem in this country, with the press you said you found in that when you went around that the Black Panther Party have been giving had been receiving bad coverage and was getting a bad reception, and I

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wondered why you didn't spend the time tonight, which is what I think people wanted to know was about the Party about what's happening to the Soledad brothers, about what's happening to Angela Davis, what's happening to these people. The problems there that the press

(end of tape)

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C. BOSTON COLLEGE  
CHESTNUT HILL, MASSACHUSETTS  
NOVEMBER 18, 1970

On November 18, 1970, NEWTON spoke at Boston College, Chestnut Hill, Massachusetts. Following is a transcript of a tape recording of NEWTON's speech made at the time of his delivery:

Characterizations of the Progressive Labor Party and the Socialist Workers Party are contained in the appendix.



VERBATIM TRANSCRIPT OF SPEECH BY  
HUEY P. NEWTON  
BOSTON COLLEGE, CHESTNUT HILL, MASSACHUSETTS  
NOVEMBER 18, 1970

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HUEY :

NEWTON:  
(HN)

(Unintelligible) if it were not for the power of the people. So, you're responsible and only you.

I would like to petition you to do the same for Bobby Seale, our Chairman, for Erica Huggins, for Angela Davis, for the New York 21, for the Soledad Brothers.

Free all political prisoners and prisoners of war.

Free the people. The twenty-eighth and twenty-ninth

of November, we will have a People's Revolutionary

Convention in Washington, D. C. We cannot have

that convention if the people do not come, because,

after all the people are the makers of the world

history. The people are responsible for everything.

So, how can we have a convention if we have no people.

Some people think that you can have a People's

Convention without the people being there. I think

that is the case in 1777.

Tonight, I would like to outline for you the Black

Panther Party's program and also explain how we arrived

at our ideological position and why we feel it necessary

to institute a Ten Point Program, a Ten Point Program

that is not revolutionary nor is it reformist. It is

a survival program. We feel that we are threatened

the people are threatened with genocide because racism and fascism is rampant not only in this country but throughout the world; and the ruling circle in North America are the responsible parties. We intend to change all of that. In order to change it, there must be a total transformation; but until such time that we can achieve that total transformation, we must exist. In order to exist, we must survive; and, therefore, we need a survival kit. The Ten Point Program is the survival kit, brothers and sisters. In other words--in other words it is necessary for our children to grow up healthy with a mind that can be functional and creative. They cannot do this if they do not get the correct nutrition. That is why we have a breakfast program for children. We also have a community health program. We have a program--a busing program. We call this the bus for relatives and parents of prisoners because we realize that the fascist regime who operates the prisons throughout America would like to do their treachery in the dark. If we get the relatives and parents of the prisoners, they can expose the treachery of the fascists. So, this, too, is a survival program.

We must--we must not take our survival programs as an answer to the problem. We don't even claim it to be a revolutionary program because revolutions are made of sterner stuff. We do say that it's the people--if the people are not here then, of course, the revolution cannot succeed because the people make revolution and only the people.

The theme of our People's Revolutionary Convention is "Survival Through Service to the People." At the convention, we'll present our total survival program.

The survival program works very much like a first-aid kit or perhaps a kit that is used when a plane falls and you find yourself in the middle of the sea on a rubber raft and you need a few things such as a first-aid kit and a few--ah--protein tablets in order to last until you can get to the shore until--you can get to that oasis, where you can be happy and healthy. If you do not have those things necessary to get you to that shore, then, possibly, you will not exist.

At this time, the ruling circle threatens us to the extent that we're afraid that we might not exist to see the next day or to see the revolution.



The Black Panther Party--the Black Panther Party will not accept the total destruction of the people--matter of fact, we draw the line of demarcation--and we will no longer tolerate fascism, aggression, brutality, murder of any kind. Matter of fact, we're not gonna sit around--we will not sit around and allow ourselves to be murdered. Each person has an obligation to preserve himself. If he does not preserve himself, then, I accuse him of suicide. I accuse him of reactionary suicide because the reactionary set up the conditions that caused his death. I repeat. If we do nothing, we might die the death of a reactionary suicide. That is, by doing nothing, we're accepting the situation--the situation is the condition of reaction. So, therefore, reaction will cause that death. We will not accept that. Matter of fact, we say that if the alternatives are very narrow, we still will not sit around. We will not die the death of the Jews in Germany. We would rather die the death of the Jews in Warsaw. (Applause)

Yes. Because we feel that where there's courage, where there's self-respect and integrity, there's a possibility that we can change all of the conditions; that we can possibly win. And this is called revolutionary

enthusiasm and revolutionary--and it is called--ah--  
the kind of stuff that is needed in order to guarantee  
a victory. We say that if we must die then we will  
die the death of the revolutionary suicide. The  
revolutionary suicide says that if I'm put down--if I'm  
driven out--I refuse to be swept out with a broom. I  
would much rather be driven out with a stick because with  
the broom, when I'm driven out, it will humiliate me and  
I will lose my self-respect; but if I'm driven out with  
a stick then at least I can remain with the dignity of  
a man and die the death of a man, rather than die the  
death of a dog. (Applause)

Of course, our real desire is to live--our real desire  
is to live, but we will not be cowered. We will not be  
exterminated.

I would like to declare to you the method that the Black  
Panther Party used to arrive at our ideological position  
and also, more than that, I would like to give to you a  
framework or a process of thinking that might help us  
solve the problems and the contradictions that exist  
today. Today the world is very complicated. There are  
many things in operation at the same time. It reminds  
me of a little saying: "When I was a boy what was so  
was so, what is not is not. But now I am a man, things  
have changed a lot. Some things nearly so. Others

nearly not. Is a puzzlement." How do we solve this? We must approach the problem with sanity. We must approach the problem with a method. We must approach the problem attempting to get a clear picture and a clear image of really what's going on divorced from an attitude and emotion that we usually project into a situation. In other words, that we will attempt to be as objective as possible. We will be as objective as possible without accepting dogma. We will let the facts speak for themselves, but we will not remain totally objective because knowledge and facts are no good if we do not put them to use to serve our interests. So, we will become subjective when we apply knowledge that we receive from the external world using the scientific method; but at that time we will admit that we will be subjective because once we apply this knowledge and will a certain outcome, our objectivity ends and our subjectivity begins. We call this integrated theory of practice, and this is what the Black Panther Party is all about.

Some people criticize the Black Panther Party. They call us many names. They call us--ah--revisionists. They call us hoodlums. They call us--ah--everything but child of man, but tonight we'll answer those people; and I hope all of them are in the front seat because--ah--

I would like to have a dialectical argument with them.  
You know, in order to understand--ah--a group of--ah--  
forces operating at the same time, science--ah--  
developed--ah--what they call--ah--a discipline--ah--  
one of the--ah--properties or characters--ah--characteristic  
of this discipline--the first is disinterest, to be  
disinterested. Not disinterested in the sense that you  
want to walk off from the problem but--ah--disinterested  
in the particular outcome. In other words, you will not  
promote an outcome. You just want to know the facts.  
The other thing is that science starts off with a basic  
premise. That is very important. And from time to time  
I will ask you to stipulate a few things with me. You  
see that--ah--even science starts off with a basic belief.  
Most basic premises start out with--ah--a belief because  
it is very difficult to test your first premise; but after  
we agree or stipulate a first premise, then we can have  
an intelligent argument because then we will just require  
each other to be consistent down to--ah--a valid  
conclusion.

So--ah--tonight I would like you to stipulate that an  
external world is a reality.

The second thing that I would like for you to stipulate  
is that things are in a constant state of change--or



transformation rather--in other words, flux, flux,  
all is flux. (Applause)

After we--ah--agree to that, we can go on with our  
discussion.

You know--ah--the scientific method relies heavily upon  
a concept called empiricism; but the problem with  
empiricism is that it tells you very little about the  
future--that it only tells you about the past. In other  
words, it can only tell you what you gained through  
observation and experience; and that's always past tense.  
So, therefore, a man by the name of Karl Marx integrated  
a theory developed by Immanuel Kant called rationale. Kant  
called his process of reasoning pure reasoning because  
Kant's reasoning did not depend upon the external world.  
It only depended on consistency. It only depended upon  
dealing with symbols in such a way where you might  
manipulate them to come out with--ah--reason based--a  
conclusion based upon reason. For example, if the sky is  
above my head, when I turn my head upwards I see the sky.  
There is nothing wrong with that. Matter of fact, that  
is the truth. But I haven't said anything about the  
existence of the sky. I said "if," and that is why with  
rationale you do not have to depend upon the external  
world. With empiricism you can tell very little about the

future. So, what will we do? In order to understand what is happening in the world, Marx found it necessary to integrate rationale with empiricism and came up with a concept called dialectical materialism, because after you integrate these two concepts or these two ways of thinking not only are we in touch with the world outside of us, we also can explain that constant state of transformation and, therefore, make some predictions about the outcome of phenomena that is not only in constant change but also in conflict attempting to reach some harmony.

You know--ah--also, Marx as a social scientist criticized other social scientists because he felt that some of them attempted to explain phenomena or part of phenomena by taking it out of its--ah--environmet--isolating it and putting it in a category and not letting anyone know--ah--about the fact that once he took this particular set of conditions out of its environment the phenomena was transformed. It was not the same. In other words, a discipline such as sociology, where we study the activity of groups and how groups hold together and how groups fall apart. Without understanding everything else that is happening and everything that

is connected to the group we will get a false conclusion about the nature of the group. So, what Marx attempted to do was to develop a way of thinking that would explain phenomena.

In the physical world, when forces collide, they are transformed. In physics, I think they say when two atoms collide they--ah--are transformed into protons and neutrons (phonetic), if I remember correctly what happens to the atom. It was transformed.

In social world, the same thing happens--or a similar thing. I can apply the same principle. In sociology, when two--ah--cultures collide a process--ah--occurs, or a condition occurs that I believe the sociologists call acculturation, where two cultures are modified because of the--ah--contact.

Well, Marx called--ah--the social forces--when the social forces collide in a clash--contradiction. In the physical world, when--ah--two physical forces collide sometimes we call it--just that, a collision. For the cars--when two cars meet head on trying to occupy the same space at the same time, both are transformed.

Sometimes, other things happen. Matter of fact, had the two cars been turned back to back and sped off in

opposite directions they would not have a contradiction. They would be contrary, covering different spaces in different times.

Sometimes when people meet, we argue and we miss each other--we miss each other because in the first place we think we have a contradiction when we're only being contrary. For example: I would say the wall is ten feet tall and you would say the wall is red; and we would argue all day, thinking that we have a contradiction when actually we are being contrary. When people argue and also when one offers a thesis and the other offers an antithesis, we say there's a contradiction; and we hope that we argue long enough provided that we agree on one first premise, that probably we hope we can have some kind of synthesis; and--ah--tonight I hope I can have some form of agreement or synthesis with those who have criticized the Black Panther Party.

I think that--ah--the mistake is some people have taken the apparent as the actual fact. In spite of their claim to scholarly research--in spite of their claim to follow the discipline of dialectical materialism, they fail to search deeper like the scientist is required to do. To get beyond the apparent and come up with the

more significant. I know you wonder how this connects with the Black Panther Party. I will explain that. The Black Panther Party is a Marxist-Leninist party because we follow the dialectical method and we also try--also integrate theory with practice. What we are not--we are not mechanical Marxists and we are not historical Marxists. (Applause).

Some people think they are Marxists when actually they are following the thoughts of Hegel. Some people think they are Marxists-Leninists and they refuse to be creative. So, therefore, they're tied to the past. They're tied to a rhetoric that does not apply to the present set of conditions. They are tied to a set of thought that edges upon dogma and what we sometimes call flunkeyism. (Applause).

Marx attempted to set up a framework--just as in mathematics you develop certain equations to understand a certain--ah--phenomena and after you learn some things about a particular set of conditions then you try to move on and apply that framework to other thinking or those principles. And you're not afraid about the outcome because you know that things change and you're willing to acknowledge the change because you're objective--



because you realize that the method that you'll use, if you use the method of dialectical materialism, you don't even expect to find the same thing even one minute after you found it last time because that's history. And if things are in a constant state of change we will not expect for them to be the same. So, therefore, therefore, words that were used to describe the old phenomena perhaps will be useless to describe the new and if we use the old words to describe the past events then we might confuse people. They might think things are static and, therefore--ah--contradicting the theory of dialectical materialism.

In 1917, an event occurred in the Soviet Union that was called a revolution. Two classes had a contradiction and the whole country was transformed. In this country in 1970, the Black Panther Party issued a document. Our Minister of Information Eldridge Cleaver, who is now in Algiers, Algeria, wrote the pamphlet and called it "On Panther Ideology." Eldridge Cleaver stated that the proletariat of this country at this time or the industrial worker does not carry the potentialities for revolution. He claims that the left wing of the proletarians, the lumping--lumpen-proletarians carries that revolutionary potentiality and in fact it carries the people of the

world to the final climax of the transformation of society and it, therefore, will act as the vanguard.

(Applause)

It has been stated--it has been stated by some people, by some parties, by some organizations, by Progressive Labor--(Boos and applause)--that it is impossible.

How can the lumpen-proletarians carry out a successful socialist transformation when they are only a minority, and in fact, how can they do it when history shows that only the proletarians have carried out successful social revolutions. I would agree--I would agree that it is necessary for the people to carry out a social revolution to represent the popular majority's interests. It is necessary for this group to represent the broad masses of the people. I would agree to that.

In the Soviet Union, 1917, we analyzed what happened there. I would agree that in this country that it would take a popular force to achieve the transformation; but I also--I also will agree that the lumpen-proletarians are actually the minority in the country. No disagreement. It seems that I've contradicted myself. That only goes to show that--ah--what's apparent might not actually be a fact. Sometimes, we think things are--things are

really a contradiction and it's only paradoxical. It might seem what it's not, you see. So, what we will do is turn this thing about. We will analyze it.

Now in the Soviet Union in 1917, the Soviet Union was basically an agricultural society, that of a very large peasantry. There was a set of social conditions existing there at that time that were responsible for the development of a small industrial base. The people who worked in this industrial base, they called them--ah--proletarians. Lenin, using--ah--Marx's--ah--theory, saw the threats because he was not a historical Marxist. He was a dialectical materialist; and, therefore, he was very interested in the ever-changing status of things. He saw that while the proletarians were a minority at that time, in 1917, they had the potentiality to carry out a revolution because their class was on the upsurge and the peasantry was on the decline. That was one of the conditions. The proletarians were destined to be a popular force. They also carried the necessary properties to carry out a revolution that resembled a socialist revolution.

In this country, the Black Panther Party, taking careful note of the dialectical method--taking careful note of the social threats in the ever-changing nature of things,

we see that while the lumpen-proletarians are the minority and the proletarians are the majority and also that technology is developing at such a rapid rate that we're starting with automation, going to cybernation, and then going from there probably to technocracy.

As I came into town, I saw MIT over the way. If the ruling circle remains in power, it seems to me that they will go on developing their technological machinery. They will go on developing their technology--their technological machinery because in the capitalists' hands and the ruling circle's hands, he's not listening to the people. So, therefore, I would expect from him the logic that he's always promoted. That is, to make as much money as possible and pay the people as little as possible unless the people demand more and finally demand his head. (Applause).

At this time, if revolution does not occur almost immediately--and I say almost immediately and I say this because the trend that technology is making leaps--it made a leap all the way to the moon. So, therefore, I say that if the ruling circle remains in power the proletarian--the proletarian working class will definitely be on the decline because they will be unemployables and, therefore swell the ranks of the lumpen,

who are unemployables--unemployables because the ruling circle does not need them any more. So, every worker is in jeopardy because of the rule of the ruling circle and this is why we say that the lumpen-proletarians carry the potentiality for revolution and, in fact, will carry the revolution out probably and in the near future will be the popular class, the majority.

Of course, I would not like to see all my people unemployed or unemployables, but being objective, because we are objective, because we are dialectical materialists, we must acknowledge the facts and that's all we're doing. You know Marx outlined a rough process of development of society. Roughly, he said society goes from a slave class to feudalism--feudalistic--ah--ah--class structure to a capitalistic class structure to a socialistic class structure and finally to communism. Or, in other words, from capitalist state to socialist state to non-state, communism. I think we can all agree, and I would ask that you stipulate that--ah--virtually the slave class of the world is--ah--has been transformed into wage slaves. In other words, the slave class in the world no longer exists as a significant force and if we can agree to that, we can agree that classes can be transformed literally out of existence.



If this is so, if the slave class can disappear and become something else, or not disappear but be transformed and take on other characteristics, then it's also true that the political or the industrial working class can possibly be transformed out of existence. Of course, the people did not disappear. They would only take on other attributes. The attribute that I'm interested in is the fact that the ruling circle did not need him and if the ruling circle is in control of the means of production then he will not be called unemployable or a lumping--or a lumpen. So, I think that's logical. I think that's dialectical. I think it would be strange to think that only the slave class could disappear. You know, Marx was a very intelligent man. He was not a dogmatist because he said--he stated, "One thing I'm not--I'm not a Marxist." In other words, he was trying to warn--he was trying to tell Progressive Labor not to accept the past or the present as the future but to understand it and be able to predict what might happen in the future and, therefore, act in an intelligent way so that we can bring about the revolution that we all want. (Applause)

After taking those things under consideration, we see that--ah--as time changes and as the world is transformed that we need some new definitions to the situation, because if we keep using the old terms people might think the old situation still exists. Therefore, they will get a fallacious picture of the world. They will think that the world's static. I would be very amazed--I would be very amazed if the same conditions that existed in 1917 still exist--would still be in existence today. Matter of fact, you know Marx and Lenin were pretty lazy dudes when it came to working for somebody. Matter of fact they looked at toil and working for your necessities as somewhat of a curse; and the whole, Lenin's whole theory after he applied or practiced--put Marx's analysis into practice was geared to get rid of the proletariat. In other words, that by the proletariat class or the working class seizing the means of production they would plan it such a way that they would be free from toil. Matter of fact, Lenin saw a time where man could stand in one place, push buttons, and move mountains. It sounds like to me that he saw a proletarian working class transformed so they could have a free block of time so they could indulge in productive creativity so that they could think about developing their universe to a higher manifestation so.

that they could have the happiness, the freedom, and the pleasure that man seems to seek and value.

At this time, the capitalist has developed the machinery to such a point where he can hire a group of specialized people called technocrats. In the near future he will be able to do this and the technocrat will be so specialized until he cannot really be identified as a proletarian. In fact, that group of men will be so small until we will have to do something to explain the other people; we would have to come up with another definition. Now, sometimes when we theorize we can argue all day. We can argue all day and if we have no practical application of a theory we will come up with nothing worthwhile. So, I'm saying despite the criticism that we've received from certain people we would say in practice many of our activities would be the same.

That is, because people would not disappear; not with our survival program they will not. They will not disappear. They will still be around. So, therefore, we need to lift their consciousness so they can deal with the ruling circle. We must lift their consciousness whether they're working in a factory or already been kicked out. So, therefore, the Black Panther Party says it is perfectly correct to organize the proletarian because after he's kicked out of the factory because he'll be called

unemployable or lumpen doesn't stop or transform a  
(unintelligible) and in order to live he has to eat  
(unintelligible) the machinery that he has produced  
so that he can produce the abundance so that he and  
his brother can live. (Applause).

Now I'm saying that we will not wait until the  
proletarian becomes the lumpen proletarian to educate  
him. Today, we must lift the consciousness of the  
people so that we--so that we can get a clear picture of  
what is to be done. We need to know that because the  
wind is rising and the rivers flow. Times are getting  
hard and we can't go home again. We can't go back to  
our mother's womb nor can we go back to 1917. (Applause)  
As the United States or what I like to call North America  
was transformed at the hands of the ruling circle from  
a nation to an empire, because an empire is a nation  
transformed, it caused a total change in the world  
because no part of a thing interrelated to change can  
leave everything else the same. So, when the United  
States or North America became an empire, it changed  
the whole ~~composition~~--it changed the whole phenomena  
in the world. There were other nations in the world;  
but empire means that the ruling circle who lives in the  
empire or the imperialists control all other nations.

Now, sometime ago in history there existed a phenomena we call--well, I call--primitive empire. That was the Roman Empire because the Romans controlled all of the known world; but in fact it did not know all of the world. So, therefore, some nations still existed because they did not control all of the land.

In modern days, I would like for you to stipulate that probably all of the world is known as far as where any large number of people live. So, the United States as an empire would necessarily have to control the whole world or affect that part that it doesn't control so much until we would call that control. We also said--we also see that--that if we understand dialectics that every determination brings about a limitation, and every limitation brings about a determination. In other words, while one force may give rise to one thing it might crush other things or even crush itself. In other words, we might have a concept we call the negation of a negation. In other words, we might say that while in 1917 the ruling circle created an industrial base and used the system of capitalism, they were also creating the necessary conditions for socialism. They were doing this because it is necessary in order to have a social



society some centralization of the wealth--we would have to have some equal distribution of the wealth. We would have to have some harmony between the people. So first, the United States ruling circle, while it changed the whole world--while it rules the whole world and when I say nation--when I say nations, I will roughly give some characteristics that any people who call themselves a nation should have. First, economic independence, cultural determination, control of the political institutions, territorial integrity and safety. The United States has violated every country--every nation in the world and, therefore, transforming that nation. Transforming the nation into what? We will talk about that later on.

When the Black Panther Party was--when the Black Panther Party was founded in 1966, we called ourselves--we called the party--a black nationalist party--we called ourselves black nationalists because we thought nationhood was the answer. Shortly after that, we decided that what was really needed was revolutionary nationalism. That is, nationalism plus socialism. After analyzing the phenomena a little more, we felt that it was impractical and even a contradiction. So, therefore, we went to a higher level of consciousness. We saw that

in order to be--for this is what we really want--  
to be free--we thought that the nation would make us  
free--we saw that in order to be free, we would have to  
crush the ruling circle; and, therefore, we had to unite  
with the people in the world. So we call ourselves  
internationalists. We sought solidarity with the people  
of the world. We sought solidarity with what we thought  
were the nations of the world. But then what happened?  
We found that because everything's in a constant state  
of change and that because of the development of  
technology, because of the development of mass media,  
because of the fire power of the imperialists, because  
of the fact that the United States is no longer a nation  
but an empire, that nationhood did not exist because  
they did not have the criteria for nationhood, because  
their self-determination was destroyed, because their  
economic determination was destroyed, because their  
cultural determination was transformed--and I would like  
for you to strike "destroyed"; I would like for you to  
put in "transformed." Excuse me--all of the nations  
were transformed at the hands of the imperialists of  
the ruling circle for the interests of the imperialists.  
So, we found that in order to be an internationalist  
we had--we had to be also a nationalist or at least

acknowledge nationhood. So, all internationalists are also nationalistic because as I understand that word, "inter" means some interrelationship between things and "nationalism" or "nationhood" means the interrelationship between a group of nations. Now, if no nation is in existence and if in fact the United States is an empire, that would make it impossible for us to be internationalists. We are no longer internationalists, and we're not afraid about that. Matter of fact, we will try to shed light upon and we will define the new transformation and the phenomena and we will call ourselves "intercommunalists" because nations have been transformed into communities of the world. (Applause) So, tonight the Black Panther Party would like to disclaim internationalism and support intercommunalism. (Applause).

We have a problem--we have a problem. You know Marx and Lenin felt with the information they had that when non-state finally came to be a reality it would be caused or ushered in by the people and by communism. A strange thing happened; the ruling reactionary circle, through the process of being an imperialist, transformed into what we call reactionary intercommunalism, because the ruling circle has laid siege on all the communities

of the world dominating the institutions to such an extent that the people are not served by institutions in their land. Well, the Black Panther Party would like to establish--to reverse that and lead the people of the world into the age of revolutionary intercommunalism. This will be the time when the people seize the means of production, distribute the wealth and technology in an egalitarian way to the many communities of the world. We see very little difference in what happens to a community here in the--in North America and what happens to a community in Vietnam. We see very little difference in what happens even culturally to a Chinese community in San Francisco and a Chinese community in Hong Kong. We see very little difference in what happens to a black community in Harlem and a black community in South Africa, a black community in Angola and Mozambique. We see very little difference.

So what has actually happened, that non-state has already been accomplished but it's reactionary. A community by way of definition is a comprehensive collection of institutions that serve the people who live there.

It differs from a nation because a community revolves around a greater structure that we usually call the state

and the state has certain controls over the community. It also serves the community if the administration represents the people or if the administration happens to be the people's commissar. It's not so at this time. So, there's still something to be done. I said earlier-- I spoke about the negation of negation. I spoke earlier about the fact of redistribution of wealth. We think that it's very important to know that in the world today that socialism in the United States will never exist. Why? It will not exist because it cannot exist. Also, I would say socialism would not exist any place in the world. I would also say that socialism does not exist any place in the world because socialism requires a socialist state and if so how can socialism exist? So what--how do we define certain progressive countries such as the People's Republic of China? How do we-- how do we describe certain progressive countries or communities as we call them, the North Korean people? How do we define certain communities as the Vietnam's people, North and the provisional government in the South? How do we explain these communities if in fact they, too, cannot claim nationhood. We say this. We say they represent the people's liberated territory. They represent a community liberated. (Applause)



But that community is not sufficient. It is not satisfied. Just as the National Liberation Front is not satisfied with the liberated territory in the South. It is only ground for the preparation of the liberation of the world, the seizing of the world from the ruling circle and equal distribution and proportional representation in an intercommunal framework. This is what the Black Panther Party would like to achieve with the help of the power of the people because without the people nothing can be achieved. (Applause)

Now I said--I want to start a question and answer period because I can go on for hours and hours and--I would really like to try but--yeah, sit down and don't start your question and answer--but I wanna tell you first--I said that the United States would not be--ah--socialism would never exist. I say that in order for a revolution to occur in the United States you would have to have a redistribution of wealth, not on a national level but on an international level--not on an international level but on an intercommunal level. And this is because how can we say that we have accomplished a revolution and redistribute the wealth just to people in North America when the ruling circle itself trespass de bonas as per tada. That is, they've taken away the goods of the

people of the world and transported them to America and used them as their very own. That is a tort.

(Applause.)

Now, remember in 1917, when the revolution occurred, you had a redistribution of wealth on a national level because nations existed. You see now if you have to speak in terms of planning an economy on a worldwide level, on an intercommunal level, that's saying something. That's saying that the people have been ripped off and it's much like the people in one country being ripped off and when the people seize the means of production then they redistribute. So we say this. How--liberation will not serve because the people have not only been robbed of their own materials; they've also--their raw materials have also been invested--their raw materials have been made into a technological machine. The people are responsible for that. So the people of the world will have to have control of that not for X amount of time--not for a limited amount; but it's theirs. So, all I can see, in order to plan a real intercommunal economy we would have to acknowledge the world is hooked up together. We'd also have to acknowledge that sometime ago nations did exist because technology

had not advanced to the level it is now. Some people will argue that nations still exist because of cultural differences. By way of definition, just for functional argument is a collection of our learned patterns of behavior--learned patterns of behavior. We see that here in the United States black people, Africans, were raped from the mother country, were brought here; and we've literally lost most of our African values. Perhaps we still hold onto some surviving Africanisms but by and large, you see, the transformation; this was achieved through a long stay but also through the highly technological society that has a tremendous mass media and indoctrination center. I say that the ruling circle has also launched satellites in order to put the beam across the world, to indoctrinate the world. We say that while there might be what we call cultural differences the difference is not a quantitative difference. In other words, if technologies and the ruling circle go on as they are going now that the people of the world will be conditioned to adapt western values. I think Japan is a good example; and the difference between people in fact are getting very small. But, again, it's in the interests of the ruling circle. I don't believe

that history can be backtracked. You see. So if the world is really interconnected then we will have to acknowledge that and say that in order for the people to be free then they would control the institutions in their community and also have some form of representatives in the technological center that they produce. So, the United States would have to, in order to correct the robbery of the world, would have to first return that. So, I don't see where we could talk about socialism when we're talking about world redistribution. I think that is what Marx talks about when he talks about non-state.

I was at Alex Haley's house some time ago, and he talked to me about his search for his past. He found it in Africa, but he returned there shortly afterwards and he was in a state of panic. His village hadn't changed very much but when he went back he saw an old man walking down the road and he had something in his ear that he cherished. That was a small, transistor radio that was zeroed in on the British Broadcasting Network. So what I'm trying to say, that the mass media plus the development of transportation makes it impossible for us to think of ourselves in terms of separate entities as nations. Do you realize that it only took me approximately five hours to get here from San Francisco to here.

It only takes about ten hours to get from here to Vietnam.

We see that the ruling circle no longer acknowledges wars. They call them "police actions." They say we have a domestic disturbance because the Vietnamese people are right. (Applause)

What I'm saying--what I'm saying is that the ruling circle accept and realize what they have done. They know that it's one world but they're determined to follow their logic of exploitation. They know, because a short time ago, in Detroit, a community was under siege and now sixteen members of the Party are in prison. The local police laid siege on that community and that house; and they used the weapons, the same weapon they use in Vietnam. Matter of fact, two tanks rolled up. We see that the same thing happens in Vietnam because the police are there also. The police are everywhere and they all wear the same uniform and use the same tools; and they're there for the same purpose--that is the protection of the ruling circle here in North America. So, if everything--(Applause)--we accept--we see that it is true--it is true that the world is one community. The world is one community but we're not satisfied where power is. We want power for the people. (Applause)



I said earlier--I said earlier and I strayed--wait--  
that the theory of negation of negation is very valid.  
Some scholars have been wondering why in Asia, Africa,  
and Latin America the resistance always seek the goal  
of a collective society. They seem not to institute  
the economy of the capitalist. They seem to go all the  
way from feudalism and try to jump to a collective  
society, and some people can't understand why. Why  
won't they follow historical Marxism or historical  
materialism? Why won't they go from feudalism, develop  
a capitalistic base, and finally go to socialism? They  
don't do it because they can't do it. They don't do  
it for the same reason that the black community in Harlem  
cannot develop capitalism. The black community in Oakland  
or San Francisco cannot develop capitalism because the  
imperialists have already pre-empted the field. He has  
already centralized the wealth. So, therefore, in order  
to deal with him, all we can do is liberate our community  
and move on him with a collective force. (Applause)  
You know we have long arguments with people. We used  
to call ourselves, before we became conscious, a  
dispersed collection of colonies here in North America;  
and people argued with me all day and all night and they  
told me how can you possibly be a colony. In order to

be a colony you have to be a nation; and you're not a nation, you're just a community. You're a dispersed collection of communities and because the Black Panther Party is not embarrassed to change or be transformed, tonight, I would like to accept the criticism and say you are absolutely right, that we are a collection of communities just as the people of the world represent a collection of communities, just as the Korean people, the Vietnamese people, the Chinese people are a collection of communities--a dispersed collection of communities (Applause)--but--because they have no superstructure or they do have a superstructure of the industrial base that made labor to produce what was all put on Wall Street; and we would all agree that once a particular land or a particular people centralize the wealth and create a capitalist base we won't fight it in every single community, you see, because every single community would not have the resources, because it's already been centralized. Sort of a destroyed form of collectivity. See? Everything's been collected but it's used for the interest of the ruling circle. So, after the things are collected; then how can you expect for someone to have a surplus that's already been ripped off?

And this is why the Black Panther Party denounces black capitalists and say that all we can do is liberate our community not only in Vietnam but here; not only in Cambodia and the People's Republic of China and Korea, but the people of the world must unite as one community and then transform the world into a place where people will be happy. Worries will end. State itself will no longer exist and we will have communism. But we cannot do this right away because we know that in sociology we say that when change takes place, when a structural change takes place, the result is usually cultural lag. In other words, after the people--after the people possess the production, we will probably not move directly into communism but we will linger with revolutionary intercommunalism until such time that we can--until such time that we can wash away bourgeois thought--until such time that we can wash away racism and reactionary thinking--and until such time when people are not attached to their nation as a peasant is attached to the soil--until such time that people can gain their sanity and develop a culture that is essentially humane, that will serve the people instead of serving some god. You see (applause) it will be necessary to do that because

we cannot avoid contact with each other. We cannot avoid contact with each other because of the changing set of conditions; so, because we can't, we will have to then develop a value system that will make us function together in harmony. This will be necessary.

So, tonight, I think I've covered some of what I have to say. I will allow you to talk. We will have a question and answer period. But before I do that, I would like to deliver a message to you. Our Minister of Information Eldridge Cleaver asked me to prepare a place for him because he would like to return home. (Applause)

And, also, I would like to thank the people of the world for allowing our Minister of Information to reside in their liberation community in their liberated territory. (Applause)

So, they've actually set the example for us. We know what we have to do to return Eldridge Cleaver home. We have to liberate our communities. (Applause)

Alright, we'll have a question and answer period before everyone leaves.

(Applause)

Unknown person: (Unintelligible)

UEY NEWTON (HN): (Unintelligible) agree with part of that. Something--  
some--oh, I'm sorry, roughly--I had to try to  
(unintelligible) because I would like to give you fair  
representation; so I will--I will tell a paraphrase  
about Rome that you can get. Now, listen--no, I think  
I remember--the brother--the class brother--the  
class brother--the objective brother, in other words,  
I would like to explain something first, that the two  
kinds of enemies--that both are objective enemy and  
the subjective. Sometime, most of the time, the objective  
enemy is really a class friend. You see. Only the  
objective enemy or one who has different interests than  
you is really your real enemy. So, he is objectively  
your enemy because he can advance at your expense.  
While the subjective enemy will hurt you, but he is only  
hurting you because of lack of consciousness. So, you  
treat those two contradictions differently. With the  
objective enemy you try to destroy him. With the subjective  
enemy, you try to teach him. You try to educate him and  
make him conscious. You can do this most of the time  
through understanding and love. So, first, I applaud that  
brother, not because I agree with everything he's



saying, but because I recognize him as an objective class friend and I think the statements are based upon a lack of understanding. Your statement was this, and it's partially correct. He said this: "Fuck Karl Marx." He said: "Fuck Lenin." He said: "Fuck everything that you have said. Why? Because--because the real problem today is nothing more than racism." Now, let's analyze that. First, what's racism? Racism is an attitude of values. Racism is a way of thinking and relating to people. Racism is something that's called by something else because I would like you to stipulate the fact that attitudes all come from something else and that's the material. We cannot have racism without having a man. You cannot have racism by-- you cannot have racism without having another set of conditions that will induce racism. So, this is what we like to explain. However, we did not have racism as such in 1100, according to Malcolm Davidson (phonetic) and Melvin J. Hirschcovitch (phonetic), who wrote "The Enigma (phonetic) of the Negro Past the Black (unintelligible)." We said, according to those historians, that Europe and Africa have an equal relationship, mutual respect, where many of the leaders respected the African soul and that they were sure that

the universities of Timbuktu were the cultural center of the world. But then, something else happened. The world changed and it became profitable for the ruling circle in Europe and Spain and Portugal--it became profitable and it also became a possibility that they could travel to the mother country with gunfire stolen from the Chinese, kidnap the Africans, take them to their country and scatter them throughout the world. In order to get labor and in order to justify it to their conscience, they developed an attitude of racism. So, therefore, so, therefore (unintelligible) racism because the Europeans needed labor. So, therefore, because of a property called (unintelligible), they kidnaped the Africans out of the (unintelligible). And, if you think attitudes and values exist independently of materials then show me how you can have a value or any man can have a value without having a body. Is the body not material? So, therefore, I think all spiritual things come from material. All the tangible things come from the material. So, while what my brother said seems to be correct, in fact is correct, in order to change the spiritual we have to change the material. In order to change racism, we have to change the racist-capitalist

structure--(applause and sounds of "Right on.")

But to change this--but to change this--but to change this (unintelligible) the people of the world will attempt to launch--will get the key of culture and a value system that is essentially human. Why do I say this? Because all of us changed anyway. There is no thing that is static. Flux, flux, all is flux. We cannot return to Africa of 1100; nor--nor can anyone return to a time that is already past. It is impossible. Because we cannot return to the past, we have to look for a solution in the future; and it is simple making--to just go around spouting words without analyzing the phenomena around us. And that is why I took so much time to give a framework of thinking so that perhaps, brother, you can go home and analyze that and know that in order to stop racism you would have to stop the domination of the capitalists because he don't hate you--(applause) Listen--listen--he does not hate you just because something came up in the sky and said: "Hey, man." He hates you, brother, because he can use that hate to indoctrinate some other white people to corral you so that he can exploit both of us. (Applause)

Now--now--everything--listen--everything has a dual character. Everything has a dual character, and on research, now, perhaps I'll find that my hypothesis is wrong or that perhaps I'll find it is right. Now, the gentleman said--my class brother said--the brother whom I love said--the brother whom I will attempt to educate tonight said that--"Fuck Karl Marx because he's irrelevant. Well, I won't say that, but I'll say this. I will (unintelligible) research now to try and find out something because the brother said that down with the dialectic because it's--ah--ah--it's not important. It doesn't give anything. And I'll say this. I would doubt seriously--I would doubt seriously whether Karl Marx' is the real originator or whether he was really was the first to expound upon dialectics. Dialectics is actually trying to explain the dual character of things and the relationship between things. The University of Timbuktu even before that time--even before that time--it was acknowledged by the anthropologists that the African (unintelligible) had a religion they called dualism, while in Europe they preferred the absolutism. That is (unintelligible) our God had two or more heads. He had a head for good; a head for evil; a head for

fertility; a head for love; and a head for hate. And the African then would attempt to manipulate these things so that convince the world to good. To give them what he wanted (unintelligible) and I would think that this was the start of the dialectical method. I think that it is strange that in Greece that the Greeks had also a form of dualism. And you have now that in Europe first, you have absolutism where the God had one head. That is, he was absolutely good. He was not evil. He had no sexual properties and so forth. In other words, he deviated from the likeness of man and we all know that man created God. So, what I'm trying to get at is that why would the Greeks have a dual god. Why would the Greeks have a dual god and yet the other Caucasians did not is probably because Aristotle attended the University of Timbuktu and was educated by the Africans. So, you get back to the characteristics and established the type of religion that the Greeks had and perhaps went around to some scholars. And this was the start of the dialectical method; and this is only speculation but--as soon as I finish, I will let this young lady--maybe--I don't know. She looks very angry--she might be objective and I can't deal with emotions but--(applause)

Sound of person  
shouting in the  
background)



So, I stay away from (unintelligible). I would like to tell you this. Here in America--here in America--racism is rampant and we have to do something about that and we see that many of our objective class brothers act in a way to harm black people. In other words, they are subjectively our enemies and I would like to use the hard hats as an example. The hard hats are exploited. They have become increasingly employed. In other words, they are well on their way to becoming unemployable and instead of blaming the masses, they are blaming us for it. Now, wait just one minute. So, because that contradiction is different than the objective enemy, we would try to first educate the hard hats. We would try to lift their consciousness because basically, as black radicals, it is our responsibility to do this. Now wait a minute. Hold it. Now if--if we can convince the hard hat through dialectical arguments, through dialectical arguments, then we will have to use stronger stuff because even if a man is objectively our friend and subjectively our enemy, we have to preserve ourselves until such time until we can educate him because we will not let insanity prevail. So, in order to insure that

sanity will remain real, we might have to take the head of the insane man, but when we do this we will weep when he happens to be our class brother because it will diminish us. It will diminish us because it--it will diminish our numbers. You see? But we have to defend ourselves because if we do not do that then that will mean we let an insane man prevail. As long as there is one ounce of sanity in the world, there's a hope for the new world. And this is why that we must down fascism.

(Applause)

Unknown Male (UM): First of all, I would like to say--

HN: Right on, brother.

UM: I would like to get down to this point. What you were saying about revisionists and--ah--I been thinking on the problem (unintelligible) I don't think the Party is (unintelligible) and I would like you to explain.

HN: Explain?

UM: Explain how the Party can be revisionist.

HN: Yah. OK. Fine.

Well,, first, we would like to say a word--ah--did everyone hear that? The brother's question?

(Shouts of "No.")

HN: The brother would like to explain why some people would say the Party is revisionist. Is that right?

UM: Right on. You said that right.

HN: Well, first--ah--a revisionist--a revisionist is someone who revises the theories of Marxist-Leninism and tries to say that he is still an essentialist. You see? Now, I would like to say something, how a revisionist differs from Marxism. Karl Marx had a vision and then Trotsky had a revision; and the Black Panther Party is now having a revision with intercommunalism.

UM: (Unintelligible)

HN: Go ahead and if anyone revises that, he's a revisionist.

UM: Ah--I don't think I asked the right--ah--I'm gonna leave.

Unknown Female: OK. I just want to make a few comments. The first  
(UF) thing, Huey, is that you are not my enemy. You see you don't--

HN: I love you sister.

UF: I love you, too, and I'm proud of the brother. You said a lot of beautiful things tonight, but I'm gonna--let me make a few comments and then you can comment. OK? Well, first of all, I appreciate greatly many beautiful things you said tonight, but I say this. You see, you don't come here to educate us, brother. We learn from

each other and you said a lot of things. You didn't have to start with Marx or Kant or any of those guys because the communism comes from Africa--tribalism.

Unknown Voice: Right.

UF: We had the--we knew the first dialectics and we understood here. And you said a lot of big words. So, you see, my brother Malcolm X was a great prophet. He didn't have--he didn't have to use all those words. He didn't have to come up with all those names, brother, and he reached the masses. He didn't have to talk about that. All this can mean is one damn thing. He's superior to anything--I haven't finished yet, brother. (Audience makes noise) You see, I haven't finished yet--you see--you gotta reach those kids; and you gotta reach those educated folks; and you don't use a whole lot of big words on me, honey. Not to me, cause, see, you don't reach the little kids when you do that. You gotta reach all the people. You gotta tell 'em the truth. You see. You gotta tell 'em that so much comes from Africa. You don't talk about Russia, that big, radical Russia (audience noise drowns speaker out)

HN: Yeah--yeah.

UF: You understand. You see you--you see everything comes from Africa. Don't bother to mock me.

HN: I agree with you--

UF: (Unintelligible) no more.

HN: I agree with you.

UF: (Unintelligible) to educate me.

HN: You're right.

UF: We educate each other, brother.

HN: Applaud her. She's right.

UF: They're through with you. They're through with you, I don't say it with hatred. I won't let the white man stand between us. You're a black man, and I love you too much. I just want you to keep telling the truth and I want you to reason with people, cause you're a beautiful brother who's got a lot of good things--(applause)

HN: Love you, sister.

UF: (Unintelligible) Don't think you control, brother. Don't think you control, honey. Don't think you rock with me. Sing with me. Shout with me. Cause, you see, all this--this talking--all this beautiful stuff comes from the power of the people, the deeds of the people--the great lovers, the great musicians, the great poets, the great people, the black people, the first man from Africa--the Party people. Just show us the power comes



from God, man. You praise God. The white man in Texas can't (unintelligible). You must christianize America now. You talking something like it was to people. Don't be afraid to tell the truth, brother. Don't leave the word "God" (unintelligible) and don't be afraid to talk, brother. Don't be afraid, brother. I know you've suffered a lot. You're suffering now through people. But you can't (unintelligible) won't let the white man tell you (unintelligible) because when a man loves he cannot commit adultery.

HN: If--

UF: Hold on--

HN: If you love me, you'll let me say something.

UF: Alright, brother.

HN: Alright.

UF: I'm going. Power to the people. Power to Huey. Power to the Panthers. Now say it. So long, brother.

HN: Thank you.

First point. I believe she said that socialism came from Africa. I agree with that because even Marx himself acknowledges that at a point in history before modern technology, before industry, that we had socialism in Africa because we had an economy for our collectivity. We had an economy based upon sharing. But this is not

and was not modern socialism. It wasn't modern by way of definition because I cannot say in 1100 the same in 1970. We have to make some distinction in order to understand the--ah--the nature and also understand the passage of time. We also can get confused; so all I'm saying is socialism actually did exist in the mother country south of Sahara before Marx ever was born; but the new kind or the kind that we're talking about today is based upon the fact it has to be European. It's based upon society that has a large base of black people working together under one law and in order to return--in order to return the wealth to the people, we have to have a technique; and Lenin instituted that technique. So, we apply the modern theory that Marx probably got from Timbuktu because I already acknowledged that dualism or the start of the dialectical method might have come from south of Sahara. So look, girl. You misunderstood me.

UF: (Unintelligible).

HN: Now, I would like to apologize if everyone here did not understand the words I used. It shows I'm not a teacher. It shows how uneducated--it shows I have such an inability to communicate and telling it is difficult for me to convey ideas. Now, words solely for the purpose to get the understanding so that my fellow man can

understand me. If you don't, then I've failed. So, I deserve the criticism that my sister gave me. But now, maybe she can teach me how to speak in a better way and a better way so--I think better--and I'll qualify it by saying a more effective way--so that I can communicate with my little brothers over there.

Now, the other thing is this --is that you said that God gives everything and I said that is correct but I say this--I did say without a man I can't see where you would have a tangible and if you think that God is spiritual or is he material. Is God a spiritual or can you touch God? Is God material or is he a concept. And I say this, sister, that in order for God to exist, you have to exist. So, therefore, you have to produce your God. You produce your God because you're producing something in you're own image and I say this--(applause) I say this--any spiritual thing, any spiritual thing that is produced would have to come from some material source. So the concept of God, the concept of God cannot exist independently of man. So, I believe in God--I believe in God because it is commonly accepted. It's commonly accepted that the cause is greater than the effect. If man caused God, then man is greater than God because he can create. He can create the spiritual world and I

can go further than that. I cannot explain the first existence of things or the first to exist. We do not know that yet; but we do know this. It is commonly accepted in the discipline of our anthropology that before man stood erect, that before man could really be called man he was something else. In other words, he was transformed by the passage of time. He was transformed because somehow he had a mind that enabled him to transform his body. According to Doctor Leakey, it is the cradle of man--the cradle of man is Africa south of Sahara; and the name of the missing link is probably Zinjanthropus. This is commonly agreed that all people probably had an African genesis. But, that is only a skimpy fact, if it is fact. Much of it is speculation because we don't know about it. But, after we know these things, do--what does it mean? Does it mean because man has African genesis that people should slaughter each other on the basis of color. No. I say this--I say when people harm each other it's a sin'against God because it's a sin against man; and I say this--and I say this with love. I say this with respect. I say this with guidance and respect for you. Matter of fact, supreme respect. I respect you more than I respect your God; and I say this, sister--I say this with love--you and your God can



kiss my behind because mine is mine (applause).  
Now, after we finish that--after we finish that, we're not gonna run around being drunk on religion because we accept that religion is like a bad wine or like opium. Religion is like opium of the mind. They only accepted that because they can't get what they really need. So, I'm gonna give them what they really need. So, I'm gonna give to that person what she needs so she won't have to depend on the God in the sky because I don't trust him. But sister can trust me so long (unintelligible) you would not have to rely upon a spirit in order to give you salvation. The more you make of your God, the less you become. The more you become, the less your God becomes. Kill your God and you'll become a man--you'll become a strong man. You'll become a man that can create the new world that we will call communism--just as revolutionary intercommunalism. We can only do this with the confidence that we have in ourselves because some person's God might do what the white racist's God did for him. He just sealed up a note put in his pocket and told him he had the right to kill.

Female Voice: Right on.

HN: There's no way we can test that. There's no way we can deal with racism other than to deal with it objectively.



We have to deal with it. We have to deal with it rationally  
We cannot deal with it and be affected so much by it  
until we lose all of racial faces because if we do this,  
then the ruling circle, which are by definition racists,  
would get the final victory because as far as I'm concerned  
there is no such thing as a black racist. Black people  
are always victims of racism. (Shouts of "Right on.")  
and because we're victims of racism that many times it  
destroys us. But we refuse to be destroyed. In other  
words, we would not go insane despite of the brutality  
of racism. When this happens, it just puts us in a  
position where we have to depend upon something--something  
supernatural to solve our problem because we feel so much  
victim to the white racists of America. But I say this--  
we will restore sanity to an insane situation; and we  
will restore love to the world because the reactionary  
ruling circle has created an atmosphere of hate. We  
will say, even when we have to defend ourselves--even  
when we have to kill, we will weep for man. We will  
weep because the death of any man diminishes us because  
we're involved with mankind. We will not hesitate to  
defend ourselves and this is why the Vietnamese people  
when they shoot down the American planes, when the plane

crashes and the pilot is dead, they very carefully bury the pilot; put flowers on his grave every week. A reporter asked the Vietnamese people why they do this and they say first we're sorry that he was duped to come over here. He was duped by the ruling circle because we have the same history and we want to preserve his race so that his people can come and take him home again because we are a part of the people of America. We are a part of the African people. We're for all people but we're against the reactionary, racist, ruling circle and we refuse to be overcome by it.

So, all I'm saying--I'm not saying racism doesn't exist. I think most white people in America are racists. I think all are affected by racism. I will say that I'm very very careful when I see a person who is himself victimized by racism and so they always talk in terms of black and white. Hate white and love black. He thinks he's talking opposites but really he's not talking opposites because love and hate grows from the same soil, that is involvement. The difference between love and hate is a difference and I say that the black who lives in America, he's gonna have a very difficult time to be objective, to step out of that realm of emotion, to step out of that realm of love and hate and get indifferent because the

white world has so much affect upon him. So, what he has to do is develop a strategy. He has to develop a tactic in order to seize the power. And when he seizes the power, because he loves, he will not necessarily look for revenge but will take the master off his high horse and make him equal and all war criminals will be punished but the people will decide that because as far as I'm concerned I will persuade you--I will persuade you only--to take what is yours and then let the man live. Take his power but don't take his life.

(Shouts of "Right on.")

Now (applause) we must understand the difference between the violence of the aggressors and self-defense of the victims. The Black Panther Party and the Vietnamese people, the National Liberation Front, are all using self-defense because black peoples initiated--their aggression was initiated by the fascist police working for the ruling circle who live right here in North America. So, it is always of our rights to defend ourselves. Much of the time, aggression takes many forms--it takes many forms. It is not always--ah--by the violence of a service revolver. It is not always the type of violence that took the life of little Bobby Hutton (phonetic). It is not always the type of violence

that has been taking black people's lives for many years. According to Melvin J. Hirschcovitch (phonetic), fifty million black people died of (unintelligible) alone. Violence is not direct by a weapon, is not always--it does not always come from a revolver or the bomb that killed many Japanese people at Hiroshima and Nagasaki. It sometimes comes in the form of depriving a man of his self-respect. It comes in the form of depriving a man of the work he needs in order to live, of the health care that he needs in order to live. This violence is treacherous and much of the time more difficult to bear than the sudden violence where your life can be ended in a minute. So, we feel that we have the right, we have the right to defend ourselves in the name of preserving man because if man--if man has an obligation to carry life on and it's the original obligation because if man had not lived and multiplied we would not have this life today. So, when we see a fascist fool attempting to murder the world we can deal with it any way we choose in order to guarantee the lawful rights of man. May man prevail forever (applause). Power to the people. Yeah--ah--I think I lost my half of the audience. So, are you ready to go home?

(Shouts of "No.")



HN:            Alright. Questions?

Second Unknown  
Male (SM):

Yes. I have a question here from a fellow operating a piece of equipment here. He says, "Needless to say, our society today is controlled by a system of cooperative capitalism (unintelligible) and an essay on liberation states that any revolution is to take place and, in fact, is successful, then there must be a total change in the nature of man himself. Did you agree or disagree? Explain if possible."

HN:            I agree that man is changing all the time because if I were to stay static I would not be the cause of dialectical materialism. So, therefore, it is quite true.

(Noise from crowd)

The Socialist Workers Party? Ah--I think that sometimes-- I think that sometimes the Socialist Workers Party might seem to be somewhat historical in their approach. I think that sometimes they plan to theorize without thinking it necessary to develop a survival program; and this is why I believe they criticize us for developing what they call an (unintelligible) program. So, I would say that as far as the Socialist Workers Party is concerned we would like to get an understanding and work



together because purely we are not objective enemies. There must be some misunderstanding of the phenomena. So, maybe they could help us and we could help them because what we want to do is understand the world so that the people--so that the people can get what there is. I'm not here to shut anyone down. I'm not here to out argue anyone. I'm here to be educated and I'm sure that--ah--we can become educated--we can become educated through some dialectical arguments and this is all. And I realize this--that I don't speak very well. So, it reminds me of what Fidel Castro told Jean Paul Sartre (unintelligible) only ninety miles from home shortly after the Cuban revolution. Sartre was out on the street with Fidel and people were constantly stopping to meet and the peasants there, they would stop, ask Fidel for this and for that and Fidel would write it down and talk to them a while and be gone. And then Sartre said, "Do you feel you must give them everything they ask for?" And Fidel said, "Yes." And Sartre said, "What if they ask you for the moon?" Fidel said, "I would attempt to give it to them; and if I can't, it will prove that I'm a poor administrator and I should not have my job because the people do not claim to be theoreticians, politicians, philosophers. They want to live, and if you

present yourself as a leader of theoreticians then you must give them what they want." So, he said this; and I say it tonight, people, that if I cannot communicate so that you can understand then it's because I am a bad theoretician and I will go home and I will study very hard so that I can communicate better. This is all I can do.

(Applause)

Third Unknown  
Male (TM):

Yes. OK--you will have to have strategy and tactics; but let's not (unintelligible) Hack people. And, also, I question the methods about organizing the working class faction (unintelligible) Shouldn't we--shouldn't we develop our own ideology instead of adopting something from Marx and Lenin because Marxism and Leninism hasn't worked in the Soviet Union and it hasn't worked in China and any place else it has not worked.

Unknown Voice: Right.

TM: So what are we doing regarding an original ideology. Why can't we produce our own? Don't we have the means and the resources to produce our own ideology and can't we build on something outside the dialectic because man is that narrow.

HN: Do you have an ideology?

TM: Do I have an ideology?

HN: That's what I said.

TM: I'm developing one.

HN: I see. Alright. Well, after you develop that ideology, if it proves to serve the people and it proves a solution for the problem then I will adopt your ideology and drop my African ideology.

TM: That's the truth.

HN: Now, wait a minute. I let you talk, now you let me talk. I will drop my African ideology--and I emphasize African because I stated earlier, if I remember correctly, that I believe that the dialectical method probably started south of Sahara and I also stated further that not only did that philosophy or that theory start south of Sahara, I said that the genesis of man was probably south of Sahara according to Doctor Leakey and other reputable anthropologists. So, therefore, we're not talking about Marx. We're not talking about Lenin. But we're talking about understanding the phenomena of the world.

Would everyone please sit down because--well, just sit on the sides so that people can see behind you. Alright. Please? OK.

TM: Now this--

HN: Wait a minute now.

TM: Alright.

HN: So, what I said is if the genesis of man was south of Sahara that means that everything after that had an African genesis. Now, perhaps my first presumption is wrong. I don't know. But whether it is or not is not, I can't see what difference it makes. I would agree with this, that man is a homo sapien or of the same species and because he's of the same species that means that he's very like a sissy. What we have to do is find out what is cowering us and what is lowering us and crush that because--

TM: I see.

HN: (Unintelligible) and this is what we need to do. But, I am not gonna stand here tonight--I am not gonna stand here tonight or any other time and say that if a theory happens to come from (unintelligible) if the theory happens to come from a man who happened to be born in Europe or a man who we will define as a Caucasian, that doesn't automatically invalidate that theory. As far as the white working class--I said that the proletarians do not have--do not have a potentiality to theoretically accept the revolution even if they had in Russia. I also said that if the Russian territory--if the Russian territory--might only be at the most what we call a

liberated territory. So, because a thing has not worked in the past, because a theory has not worked in the past, that does not mean it won't work in the future. In other words, perhaps it hasn't reached it's final climax. And that's what I claim. I claim that the only way that communism can still work--the only way that revolutionary intercommunalism can work in the interest of the people there is a prerequisite. We would have to down the ruling circle because a slave can never run away from a master. A slave cannot divorce himself from the master. In order to better the situation, then he has to transform the master. He has to take away the master's power, pull him down off his high horse, and make him equal because if he does not do that he will never be free. He will never be free because as long as the master exists--as long as the master exists he will be in danger. So, I say this, as long as reactionary, racist capitalism exists, the people of the world will be in danger. So, I will not accept a solution such as in schism (unintelligible), that is, let's separate. I say the same that we separate (unintelligible) of the United States when the ruling circle will not let the people ten thousand miles away--ten thousand miles away in South Africa separate. You follow this all



over the world. So, the biblical phrase is very appropriate. The biblical phrase is very, very appropriate. That is--that is: "I went to the mountain to hide my face. The mountain cried out, 'No hiding place.'" So, I'm not gonna run to Africa because I know the imperialist's presence is in Africa. I know that it is present in Latin America. I know that it is present in Asia. I know that it is present Europe and it is running amuck in America. So, in order to change the situation you cannot run away. So, you must attack and say that that would show not only a certain amount of courage, it would prove very difficult for the ruling circle to deal with because the people of the world are popular. The people of the world represent the majority; so, therefore, I'm very, very optimistic. It's called revolutionary optimism--I'm sure that we will down the circle, transform society, and--and also I'm sure that the vanguard group--that the vanguard group will be black people, not in Africa but black people here in America. Black people here in America because black people in America are probably the most progressive people in the world because of our history. Sociologists and anthropologists--sociologists have concluded that people with a long, unbroken history tend to be somewhat

chauvinistic because they are tied to the past and this is why the Chinese people destroy everything over seventeen years old because they said it was--ah-- it tied them to the past--the tradition, such as Chiang Kai-shek. So, therefore, they destroy most of their history. So, what I'm saying is this. I said earlier that everything has a dual character and everything has many sides; and, brother, that's dialectical but also African so that's what I meant by (unintelligible) Africanism. Cause the Africans always view a (unintelligible) as two sided. They didn't view it as absolute. But, brother, if you can view things as absolute if you say all white people are absolutely bad, then you're being very European because an African would say he's probably both bad and good at the same time and what I would try to do is figure out which policy overshadows the other and try to deal with that; so, what I'm really trying to say is you have to understand the totality of the world in order to get the real picture because if you understand a portion of it, you take a thing out of its context and you're acting like a psychologist and sociologist who claim because something is true after isolating certain variables and put it

on a possibility--wait a minute--I'm talking bullshit.

I can't communicate attempting to be too academic.

Power to the brothers and sisters

(End.)

SF 157-1203  
JLC/sad

D. OAKLAND TECHNICAL HIGH SCHOOL  
OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA  
DECEMBER 14, 1970

On the afternoon of December 14, 1970, NEWTON spoke at Oakland Technical High School, Oakland, California. At approximately 8 pm, December 23, 1970, a recording of NEWTON's speech was broadcast over Radio Station KPFA-FM, Berkeley, California. Following is a transcript of a tape recording made from the radio broadcast of NEWTON's speech:

1

Power to you Brothers and Sisters and fellow students. I'm very happy to be here today, and I would like to say that - now please, I'm very happy to be here, too. I say fellow students because you know this is my high school, too, you know. I was here in (unintelligible) so I'll always feel the fire.

I had another kind of lecture in mind today because I remember when I was at Technical High School that I didn't like to sit for a long time for instructors to tell me a lot of jibberish that was irrelevant as far as I was concerned. So I was going to have, maybe talk to you for about fifteen minutes or so, and then have a long question - answer period. But, after talking to some of the BSU members, they told me that a dialogue goes around the campus about the Black Panther Party and there is much misunderstanding. Such things are said as the Black Panther Party was all right until we gained a certain solidarity with the people of Vietnam and the people of China, the oppressed people of Africa - as a matter of fact Africa, Asia, and Latin America - all of the people who are suffering under the seige and the bondage of our Western aggression. And because of this, I think that I will ask you



to bear with me and I will explain for you the way the Black Panther Party arrived at its position and I'll do more than that. If we can't gain anything else today I hope at least that we'll have some framework or some clear way of investigating phenomena or investigating anything and coming up with a rational and a reasonable conclusion. Not just a conclusion based upon our attitudes, our likes or dislikes, but really an opinion and a position based upon the facts in the external world. In order to do this I will have to go into and explain a little of the scientific methods and then some developments that was made on this scientific method.

Matter of fact, some people were very displeased at one point with the way information was gathered and they were displeased mainly because the information that people were getting and presenting as truths were only half-truths. So a process of thinking was developed and there are many processes of thinking. Most of us feel that there is only one way to gain information and that way is to use common sense. Much of the time the apparent is deceiving; the apparent is not representing fact all of the time.

So the first thing I would like for you to do, and from time to time I will ask for agreements from you, or

sometimes its called stipulation, because if most conversation is an intelligent one it would have to be based on some first premise or some first agreement. And after that then we could see if we're consistent to a valid conclusion. Otherwise, when we argue we'll be talking nonsense and we won't get anything down because we'll be coming from different positions, talking about different things, and thinking we have a contradiction when all the time we're being contrary, going in different directions.

So I'll start first to explain to you how the Black Panther Party and how all Marxists and Leninists think.

The first thing is that we're scientists, and in science there is a way of gaining information that will attempt to eliminate mistakes and error and a way of gaining information that will really reflect the real world. So, first, I would like for you to agree or you to stipulate that there is a real world that exists independently of us. When I say independently, I mean we - that if we disappear or if we're not around, the world will be here anyway. So it's not dependent upon our existence, we do not project it, but the external world or the objects in that external world which we sometimes call facts, bombard our organisms, accessory perception

system - our eyes, nose, mouth, and so forth, and ears. And by this, if the impression that it makes upon our organism, our brain, if that impression reflects the actual or the true nature of the thing that made the impression, we'll call it the object outside of us, then to that degree we will gain knowledge and truth, you see. Matter of fact, we'll gain knowledge because we'll realize the truth is only a statement about an external fact. In other words, we could have facts, conceivably we could have facts without the existence of man; but we cannot have truth because truth is only a word or a symbol articulated by a person about the external, you see. So, in other words, the fact will remain whether we say anything about it or not. If no one says anything then the truth does not exist because that's the word. And I'm going to ask you to bear with me today because I didn't mean to go into this because I realize that most of you haven't gained certain skills necessary to make a factual, non-biased investigation. And, of course, I criticize the schools for this and I criticize your school, my school, and I criticize all those schools by not giving us the essential things that's necessary to further our knowledge and, that is, the process

of thinking, that will probably deliver us true information so that we can manipulate the external world. That's what school should be all about.

When I was at Technical High School some years ago, that I had rather a stormy career, that I didn't learn very much, that in fact, when I left the school I believe I had the reading level of about the second or third grade and I was very unhappy about that. Matter of fact, I learned to read my senior year and because I wanted to go to Merritt College and I knew I couldn't do this if I didn't know how to read. So, as far as school is concerned, most of the things that you learn here, that I learned or that I didn't learn, was mischievous madness and it did not prepare me; and, even though, I will charge myself with a certain amount of neglect because I should have on my own, as I did later on, learned the basic skills so then I could go in and do the research necessary to manipulate the external world. So what we really want to do is have enough information in order for us to manipulate the external world so that our true interests will be served.

Now from time to time I'll go on tangents and deviate from my first theme but I'll return to it.

I explained that it's necessary to know ways of gaining information, ways that would give us a real picture of the external world. Now I said that many people were disturbed at one point about certain endorsed processes of thinking. There is a man called Immanuel Kant and he felt the rational method of pure reason would give us the most reliable information. Now I'll tell you how the rational method works or the method of reason.

The first thing, the rational method does not depend upon the existence of the external world that we already stipulated or agreed existed outside of us. The rational method depends upon symbols, it depends upon going from a premise, any premise, and arriving at a conclusion that is consistent with your premise. It does not depend upon existence of anything outside of our mind. Sometimes it's called idealism. This method surely brings, gives us some truth; but, as I said before, if we believe there is an external world it doesn't serve us really to manipulate that world. This is the way the rational method works and this is



a very simple example. As a matter of fact, I'm oversimplifying. But this is a very valid conclusion. Let's say that if the sky is above my head, when I turn my head upwards, if there's nothing blocking, I will see the sky and if the sky is above my head. That's a perfectly valid statement but it does not depend upon the existence of the sky or anything else. It only, because it is stipulated if the sky is above my head and there's nothing in between then when I tilt my head upward I see the sky. That's perfectly valid and rational. So the rational method was based upon dealing with symbols in such a way where we would reach our mathematical conclusions but yet it did not help us with the external world. Not purer reasons, as Kant called it himself, it did not give us much information about the real world.

During the same time there was another method used. Sometimes it was called empiricism. Empiricism, an empirical knowledge, is gained through observation and experience. Much of the information that we gain in school, much of our ways of approaching things in school is really related to this method more than pure reason. In other words, that with empiricism or sometimes called pragmatism, William James called it pragmatism, that we gain knowledge and information

through experience and observing things in the world outside of us. In other words, that we first make the presumption that the world outside of us and independently of us, is independent of us, exists. So that's the first belief. And the reason I say that's the first belief is because it's very difficult to test this first premise. Matter of fact, most first beliefs are very difficult to test because we lack the tools with which to test them. But after the first belief, it's pretty easy, if we're careful, to test if we're thinking clearly and if we're following a valid, logical process. And this again, the way we'll measure it to see if we're consistent with the first premise or the first belief.

So this method was called pragmatism by some and others called it historical materialism. In other words, most history or historical materialists draw heavily upon empiricism or pragmatism, you see. And they use a method of investigation that seems to be shared by most scientists and, that is, they observe and they experience. But this method would not give the kind of information necessary for us to function and really understand the true nature of things. In other words, while the rational method only gives us an intangible kind of

conceptual picture of things and the things most of us stay within our minds, you see, while the historical or the empirical method gives us a static view of things. In other words, it won't help us with the future situation.

Number one, if you have to observe and experience everything before we come up with information about it first, the things will be passed and we know that past history doesn't repeat itself and past history doesn't give us any information by itself about the future. The reason this is so is because past history only gives information about a thing that has already happened, and it doesn't necessarily mean that thing will happen the next day. For example, and ah, for example the sun; the sun has been coming up day after day for many years and from that we could attempt to predict that it will come up tomorrow. But past history might not repeat itself so we have no real evidence that the sun will come up tomorrow, do we? We only know that it did come up many, many times before, you see. So really the empirical method and historical materialism is not giving us the kind of information that would help us deal with things in the future, not that alone, you see. Many people feel with the study of history and I

would like to warn my friends, my comrades in the BSU, that we cannot rely too heavily upon historical information because, as you very well know, history has caused very many problems and the problems that history has caused and even some of the solutions that history has given us might not necessarily be a solution for the future.

So what we will do here is, first, understand we just examined two ways of thinking. We called it empiricism or the historical method and we talked about the rational method. Empiricism, you could get more information out of it by reading William James, "Historical Materialism", Hegel, and, of course, for the rational method, Kant. But, as we see that both processes of thinking fall short of glory, they don't give us the kind of information that we would like to have because one gives us only an idea about something; it doesn't even guarantee that that thing has anything to do with the external. And the other, while relying heavily upon the external world, doesn't give us the ability to predict nor does it tell us the nature of things. And I say that it doesn't tell us the nature of things because of static. And a man called Karl Marx was unhappy about the kind of knowledge

and the so-called truths that was delivered by these two methods. So in order to perfect the investigation process that he decided that he would attempt to integrate the two.

First, that he would use history or the empirical method in order to understand the outside world. In other words, he started with the belief that the outside world existed. Now, secondly, that he was dissatisfied with Kant but he thought that something that Kant did was very good and later on we'll talk about the dual nature of things. Everything is both good and bad at the same time and right and wrong at the same time and everything that builds itself is also eliminating itself in one way or another. So he saw that there was something good about the rational method because it tended to give us a position where we could not only know how things change but also we could predict or speculate about the future. So he took reason or the rational method and combined this with the empirical method and came up with a philosophy or process or formula that he called dialectical materialism.

Dialectical materialism opposed the rational method or idealism and also opposed the empirical or historical materialism and it was the two methods of thinking integrated.



So what happened was this. That he collected everything by observation experience and then he used reason to say that while historical things might not be future things at the same time that I can analyze all those conditions surrounding them and then speculate about the future by using reason. So, in other words, that the sun has come up many thousand times, many million times for many, many years, so what I will do is analyze all the conditions surrounding the sun, all of them that I can, and then I will try to predict the future because I can use reason and then say that if these conditions continue that this will probably exist in the future. So then this gave us more of a full scope and also told us something about the world.

Another stipulation I would like for you to make or agreement and that is that everything is in a constant state of transformation. In other words, everything is being changed to something else. But we don't like to use the word change because that sounds like it loses all of the properties that it once had and gained complete new properties. But we say it's transformed. The characteristics are transformed and something else is created.

The sun is very hot and gives much light and it comes up everyday; probably, speculation, probably from the very start it is also eliminating itself. It is also snuffing itself out and burning itself up. And that's why we would have to take everything in consideration about speculating about the rise of the sun tomorrow.

So this would be reason united with the empirical or the historical method. So this method I'm using now is called dialectical materialism; some people call it Marxism, And the Black Panther Party uses this method of reasoning so therefore, we call ourselves Marxists.

And there was another man called Lenin and Lenin was somewhat action orientated and Lenin used the method and the process of thinking of Marx and also put this into practice. In other words, Marx was somewhat an armchair philosopher, and while he was a great theoretician that, as far as the practice was concerned, it was wanting in many areas. What Lenin did was, simply, he was a student of Marx and he attempted to use the information and the philosophy of Marx and use it in a very practical manner. In other words, a manner in such a way that would aid him in not only analyzing

and understanding the world around him but also he would attempt to transform that world by harnessing certain forces and changing them in the desired manner.

Now I spoke earlier about things being in a constant state of change and I will try to give you some examples of things changing and how things are transformed. Number one, that I said everything is in a constant state of transformation and because of the dialectical method of Marxism, it attempts to understand the total universe. And I say the total universe because we believe that if you only understand a part or if you isolate phenomena you've taken it out of its environment and you've made changes yourself. Therefore, you cannot understand the totality even of the part because the part was also affected by the whole. So in order to understand any part of anything, you have to understand all the things surrounding it; and if we can agree that most things are inter-related in this universe in some kind of way, that there is an integration - even those things that seem opposite - because they seem to be attached and related to each other in some way. So I'll give you a few examples of things changing

and how the social world and the physical world and even the spiritual world are very inter-related. Number one, that in physics we see that when we attempt to analyze the physical world we see that there are atoms, neons and protons, you see.

The (long pause with several "ahhs") first, I'm somewhat confused because I was given a note that people are getting somewhat bored with what I'm saying. All right brothers and sisters, well, look, I'll try, I'll attempt to make what I'm saying exciting to you and if it's not exciting it's just a shortcoming on my part because I'm not very articulate. But I hope that we gain something here today and I'm going to be here for a while and you'll be able to ask any questions you want. And if I'm lucky, maybe I can answer it. If I'm not, I'll tell you so and I'll tell you I can't answer it and we'll try to find the answer by going to the volumes and if we can't find it there we'll just try to reason it out and just ponder it until we can. So I'm going to go on even though I appreciate your great patience.

As well as spiritual world is dependent upon the physical. As I go along I warn you that I'll ask certain stipulations and you can challenge me on it or ask questions about it in the question - answer period. But there's another

belief that we Marxists - Leninists go from and that we start from positions that everything comes from the material. That's why we call the method of reasoning dialectical materialism. Everything comes from material, in other words the genesis and the foundation of everything comes from a material source. And we say that even spiritual comes from material because we can't understand and we can't see that there would be a spiritual or an intangible or an idea without the mechanism of the brain or the man who is made of flesh and blood. So, therefore, we say the man would not exist and the world seems to be made of material things. So phenomena seems to be, to have the genesis in the material. Now we say that things that are constantly changing and things are transformed and they're transformed much of the time by clashing together. I said earlier about the existence of atoms, or electrons, atoms, neons, and protons. And that we know that when atoms clash they subdivide and I believe they go into protons, if I remember my physics correctly, but anyway, they're transformed into something else.

So in the physical world when things clash we call it the, well in simple terms in the physical world when things clash - we call it a collision. And we call it that because



when, say that when you see two cars clash in the street, when two objects try to occupy the same space at the same time, that both are transformed; you see, they become different. And this is the same way that atoms act, you see. When they clash into each other they subdivide again when they clash, you see. In the dialectical terms, in the dialectical argument, we call this a contradiction, you see, when two people clash in language. In other words, if one person says a certain wall is ten feet tall and the other says it's five feet tall and they're talking about the same object, the same wall, we say they're having a contradiction. Now contradictions can be resolved if, first, that the two people agreed upon a basic premise that's common to both of them that's acceptable. So if they both say that a certain measuring stick will give them the true height they can first give the first premise for believing that the wall was ten feet or five feet high and they can investigate that.

And they hope through dialectical arguments where one offers a thesis, the thesis saying the wall is ten feet tall and the other offers what we call a counter-thesis and who says that the wall is five feet tall and they hope by the end of the argument, by the investigation, they will come up with

a synthesis or they will integrate those two things and they will come up with a new thing. Maybe they'll find out the wall was actually seven feet tall. So, but at any rate, things in the physical world, as well as things in the spiritual world, as well as things in the social world, are constantly in a state of transformation and constant conflict. So we see that most people, when they get together, they begin to make certain stipulations and they'll talk about two different things and they'll think they're having a contradiction and really they're just being contrary. In other words, when two cars back up to each other back to back and speed off in two different directions covering other grounds, this is, the cars are being contrary, you see. But when people get together and they argue all day and all night and both are talking about different parts of the same wall and both could be correct. For instance, if one person says the wall is actually ten feet tall and the other says the wall is brown and they argue all day about that, they both could be correct, they're being contrary. But first we have to know what we're talking about, you see, and I give you this foundation because this is the only way I know how to go about

explaining why the Black Panther Party has come to the conclusion that I know that it has.

I know that you think that's far fetched, but its far fetched as far as relating what I'm saying to the Black Panther Party's position but just bear with me and I'll try at the end to explain the whole thing and make your patience worthwhile.

Now, so in that world that we're talking about that exists independently of us, first that that world is in a constant state of transformation and that even in the physical world the whole universe is constantly changing and forces are clashing and modifying themselves and transforming themselves. Now we talked about an argument, we called it dialectical argument, we taled a little about physics and how the physical world is in a constant state of change.

Now, let's talk a little about the social world because remember that with the dialectical method we attempt to understand the whole universe and not take it out of context. In other words, we're not going to say that it sure is bad that everyone is going around, say dropping reds, and isolate this from the other phenomena that caused them to drop.

the reds. See what I mean? So that's an example of taking things out of context. Some scholars do it all the time - the sociologists, the psychologists, the historians - they take things out of context if they do not use the dialectical method because they don't explain the whole phenomena. When you isolate any variables or any force you change that force from its original form and you're not getting the true nature of that particular thing, you see. So it is necessary to use the method of dialectical materialism and I'm explaining why. So we have two things here. We know that the external world exists outside of us; we also know it's in a constant state of change and we know how it changes through conflicts, through clashing, together and we saw how we do this in argument and we saw how it happened in the physical world and now we'll talk about the social world.

In the social world, really there's little difference in sociology that the sociologists say that when two social groups meet or cultures meet and a culture is a learned pattern of behavior, when these two cultures meet that might differ like the Western culture and say the African culture or the Western culture and say the American Indian culture. Say that when these cultures meet, when they get together or when they

clash, that both are modified, you see, they call it acculturation in Sociology. They're both modified by the contact and by the conflict, and so something has developed, is transformed. So to understand anything we'll have to understand that constant state of change. If we understand it just in a static sense then we would not understand it at all because we're not understanding what's its becoming. We're not understanding that it's never static so therefore, if we tell someone such and such exists as this we will be telling them not even a half-truth; we will be telling them a whole lie if we didn't say that it is also becoming something else. So, I say all of this because it's very important especially for young students who have to do much investigation and I warn you against first the historical method that I believe is taught most in the school because you know most of the instructors don't want us to reason, the school is anti-orientated and not reason orientated. So I don't have to warn you too much about the reason because they'll make sure that you don't reason anyway.

So what we talk about here is that the Black Panther Party has adapted a Marxist-Leninist stance so we're really



social scientists. We're scientists really in the true sense of the word and that we're not only Marxist - Leninist scientists but we're Marxist-Leninist Panther scientists. We say this because we feel that the Black Panther Party has added something new, not to the formula of Marx, but we have applied this formula in a creative way to new phenomena that didn't exist in the past when Marx was here because, remember things are constantly changing. So we say that the Black Panther Party becomes the dynamic party because we use a way of thinking, a way that we can defend, a way that we say that the only thing we could do, the only contradiction that we can reach with the person is really a matter of having information or not having it.

(There was a break in the tape here but an unknown male voice said he would fill in with he had said: "he began to talk about the idea upon which the Black Panther Party was originally founded and he said in 1966 we formed the Party and at first it was the Black Nationalist Party").

We felt black nationalism answered the problem or would give us the solution to our problem here in America. We felt that if we followed the course that all other oppressed ethnic groups and cultures followed by creating our own nation

then we would deliver ourselves from the suffering and we would arrive at a position equal to other ethnic groups and other cultures in the world. And this is why that we were Black Nationalist in 1966. But after that time, shortly after that time, we saw that if we only related to oppressed people and black people exclusively here in America that we would automatically be a minority and that we would not only be a minority but a weak minority. We didn't have the necessary tools, we didn't have the necessary condition to change our situation so we were transformed, we changed in our position, our philosophy to what we call revolutionary nationalism. Revolutionary nationalism was really a form of internationalism, which I'll go into in a very short time.

Revolutionary Nationalism meant that not only were we nationalists and not only did we want a nation, we also wanted solidarity with all oppressed people in the world and oppressed people in this country and that while we wanted a nation that we also saw that there was another evil that was affecting not only us but everyone in the world. And that was bureaucratic capitalism and the greed of a small ruling circle. That's called super rich or the capitalist class. And this is

the class that only controls the means of production according to Johnson's report on civil disorder this class represents or controls the 76 companies that control the United States economy and industry and also the industry of the world. Because the United States is an empire, you see. So we felt that we needed solidarity with all of these people you see who are also oppressed. These people were mainly in Africa, Asia and Latin America, but after we learned more we saw that there were Europeans also who are oppressed, on a relative basis, but nevertheless, they're oppressed, in this country and out of this country. So we have sought this solidarity and we thought hard enough that we could create a nation like everyone else, we could gain the respect and the dignity like other people have that they seemed to have gained through their nation.

Something else happened. We saw that other countries in the world were fighting against colonialism and fighting against the aggression of the United States Armed Forces, who was attempting to occupy their country and draw their national resources out and control their territory. We saw that these countries were Internationalists and they didn't talk too much

about Revolutionary Nationalism. They talked about an international hook-up of all oppressed people. So we thought this would be a good idea because this would increase our strength and increase our number. Where there's number with unity there's strength. We saw then that if we became internationalists we would be able to choke the ruling circle's forces. The same ruling circle that was responsible for our slavery in 1619, the same ones who oppress now the Vietnamese people, the same ones who indirectly or I would say directly, oppress the Africans in Mozambique and Angola because the Portuguese who are direct masters there are also members of NATO, which is the international body of Armed Forces that deploys military weapons such as rockets and planes to satellite countries. So the United States supplies the Portuguese with the weapons to murder the Africans in Angola and Mozambique and it is also the United States ruling circle that also makes it possible for the people, the black people in Africa, South Africa, to be oppressed by the racist government there because there is a Standard Oil in South Africa and Rockefeller is there and there's much American investment in South Africa, therefore strengthening the African Government that's oppressing poor people there.

People have a right to live and people have a right to control their land. So we saw it necessary to become internationalists. After this we found something else and this wasn't to the surprise of our friends the world over, the oppressed people again, the oppressed people in Latin America; but first, it surprised our friends all over the world and many of our comrades here in America. And that is a short time ago we not only offered our services to oppressed brothers in Vietnam but we also went a step farther. We, also at this same time, we denounced internationalism and embraced what we called intercommunalism. Intercommunalism is a higher stage of development; it is the highest stage of development of Marxism-Leninism because it says this. It says that in order for, first, in order to create a nation, the nation would have to have a set of conditions to exist. First thing that with internationalism it means an inter-relationship of nations. Inter means inter-relationship of things; nationalism or nation means, if I have a clear understanding of the word, an inter-relationship of nations. So, in order to have internationalism, first you have to have nationalism or nationhood. But, after using the formula of



thinking and the dialectical method, we found that there are no nations in the whole world. No nations exist any longer - there are no nations any longer. The nations have been transformed and they do not exist. The United States, most people recognize it not as a nation but they say the imperialists live in the United States ruling circle and they send their imperial truths to various lands. Nations to control that land space, and to oppress the people there for profit motives.

Now imperialism, a root word would be empire, the imperialists live in an empire and an empire is a nation transformed. An empire perhaps a nation that existed at one time but as soon as the United States became empire that it did something else. Because, remember when we said earlier in our conversation that when one part of a thing is changed or transformed it also changes everything else. Everything else is transformed.

In other words, you can't transform a part of a whole without changing the whole part. So we say that the day the United States or America became empire; and, if you would agree with me that imperialism exists and the imperialists is the American force, then you have to also agree that America

is an empire. It would be contradiction to say that America is a nation also because it cannot be a nation and an empire at the same time, because then we would stop being precise and we would stop being scientists. In other words, why have two words mean exactly the same thing. We say perhaps at one time the United States was a nation but it is not anymore; it is an empire when it starts controlling not only its land space but all other land spaces in the world. And there were stages, it didn't do this overnight.

At one time you had colonialism and then the scholars started saying, "Well, colonialism doesn't exist in Latin America and it doesn't exist in Vietnam; we'll call it something else, we'll call it neo-colonialism." Then they argued back and forth because at that time it was very vague, what do you mean. So we say that at one point the neo-colonialism was the bridge stage between the elimination of nationhood. So, therefore, at one time you had colonialism that meant that people from the mother country went to other countries and they controlled their government. They were in a minority, they would draw out raw materials. The natives were always in the majority and many of the natives were not even affected

by the presence of the settlers, you see. But something else happened. The settler, in most cases went back home. He either just left his army or he left a puppet government made up of natives, you see. And something else happened. The total economy of all of these countries, it was so integrated into the American empire until we can't even make a distinction between that other land space and this land space. So I think that just for precision we would have to identify new phenomena. We would have to say things have been transformed to the point where nations do not exist and they stopped existing when the United States became empire the rest of the world was transformed into something. And we'll discuss that in a little bit. But first that we must recognize that with the philosophy of dialectical materialism there's nothing that will stay the same so this is stipulation.

Now the Black Panther Party has been called many things because at one time we followed somewhat, I don't know what you would call it, you might call it orthodoxed Marxist stand, you see. When I say orthodox, we tried to, I don't know, we didn't really try, we went along with, reluctantly, many people who were really historical Marxists, you see.

In other words, they thought that the things that happened in 1917 in Russia would happen all over again and because of their historical approach, they failed in their analysis and came up with truths or knowledge that was short of reflecting the true nature of things. In other words, we cannot expect the same things to happen here or in the world that happened in 1917 and in Russia, which is now called the Soviet Union. And I'm going to interject this because it becomes very important at the end of our conversation because in 1917, as you very well know, a revolution occurred there under the leadership of Marx and Lenin, under the leadership of Lenin using the thought of Marx. That revolution was carried out by the proletarians. By proletarians we mean factory workers. The proletarians at that time in Russia represented the class that carried the potential to create the new society to a higher level. The proletarians were the industrial workers but Russia, at that time, was basically an agricultural society and the peasantry was in the majority. The peasantry was in the majority but they did not carry the revolutionary potential and, in fact, they did not carry because of the conditions at that time, the total conditions they were not able to make revolution or change the society.

The proletarians were a minority. They represented a very small class at that time. The proletarians worked in the factories while the bourgeois class owned the means of production. The say that came about is that things seemed, remember I said and I didn't explain that every determination has a limitation and every limitation has a determination, that means I talked about the sun, while the sun seems to build itself, let's say at some point it probably builds its heat and its momentum and circulating the universe. It also is doing something else. It is also cancelling itself out and this is true of everything else. While it's building itself up, it's also cancelling itself out. Now this also happened with the peasantry in Russia because of the total condition. Now, mainly because of the development of technology and the exploitation of the bourgeois, which were the Capitalists at that time. In other words, the peasants, because of their division and because they were attached to the land, had a tendency to control all of the things that they grew and all the labor was consumed by the family or else very little was used for trade and so forth. Because this was a fact, they had a tendency to stay at one level of development as far as



technology was concerned and as far as creating such institutions that might lighten the burden of toil that would eventually free man from labor. So the bourgeoisie, because of its treachery and because of its greed, expropriated some of the work by buying up land, being feudal lords, and so forth; and they bought this up and they called what the workers did, they paid the peasants a small price and what happened was they would only pay them X amount and would never really be the whole amount it was owed to them because he could not afford to pay them for all their labor. If he paid them for all their labor it would do him no good to be a capitalist because he wouldn't make anything out of it. So, therefore, he exploited them because of his greed, because he wanted more than he could consume, and it wasn't because of the kindness of his heart or it wasn't because he wanted to advance the society he wanted more. So he expropriated and he accumulated what was called profit and he used this wealth that he had stolen through his thievery to pay off the workers, but he would never pay them as much as their labor was worth. By doing this he accumulated so much until eventually he could create, build machines so he could cut down on the number of hours necessary for the people to work and therefore, he could

get more profit.

While he was doing this and it wasn't a good thing if we look at it from the sides of the peasants or the majority, but he thought it was good because it was creating wealth for himself and while it didn't reduce the labor of most of the peasants, it reduced his labor so he was becoming somewhat free. While he was doing this he was doing it at the expense of the peasant, you see. So he was building also an industrial base, because as he got one machine he would build another and another and another and finally he had a pretty big industry and he had workers then who were not attached to the soil and did not own their tools and did not ever hope to own their land. They just labored for that man so that he could pay them enough money so they could eat. This created what we call a surplus or a potential for surplus and also created the proletarian class that in 1917 was the minority class in Russia.

Now, while the capitalist was doing this he was also eliminating himself because he was creating such conditions that would make possible for what we call an equal distribution of wealth. It also created industrial base as

we already investigated something that the peasants probably wouldn't have got for themselves that they had created, and I say that what they wouldn't have got for themselves, but really they did do it. Of course, they wouldn't exploit themselves. So in that way they wouldn't have took the process to save it because why, you see. They weren't greedy but I would like to show you the dual nature of things. While he created the industrial base he also created the necessary conditions for what the Russians shortly after that called socialism. In other words, it would free the people from the soil, it would give them more leisure so they could engage in creative productivity so they could be free to do the things that would make them happy instead of doing the things that would provide for himself and for his master, who was a capitalist.

So while the capitalist gave raise to his own strength he also eliminated his strength and he eliminated the strength by paying less and less, creating the conditions so the people could eventually expropriate because of anger, because they became more and more aware of what he had done to them, and it created a situation where in 1917, Lenin was able to organize a force of workers and create a socialist

society. We'll hold socialist because of a lack of a better term. We'll say he advanced society. He advanced it because after the revolution that what was once owned by a small ruling circle was owned by all of the people of Russia, now called the Soviet Union. There's no private ownership in Russia even to this day. And there's no private ownership because the people in Russia fought a revolution in order to share equally the wealth in that country, and the equality is not absolute even at this time. And we'll explain that towards the end of this conversation. But any rate, a society was changed and at this time Russia is a major industrial society and while the capitalists in the country and the bourgeoisie built wealth for itself, he also eliminated himself.

Now, I had to go on that long thing to explain determination and limitation, how everything has a dual character. Now, as far as the United States is concerned, or the American empire, that I say that it's changed and transformed the whole world and I also said that the Black Panther Party has deviated from what we call the orthodoxed thinking of so-called Marxists, because we're not historical Marxists, we're creative Marxists and that we're not flunkies for anyone and we're dialectical materialists and we're not historical materialists. So what we're saying is that if you're a

dialectical materialist, you realize that everything is changing all the time. We also challenge some of the scholars in Marxism because they say that you must depend upon the proletarians to carry the banner of revolution because they always have carried it. We would say that's evidenced of this person being a historian and a follower of Hegel instead of Marx and Engel because they're saying that because it happened in the past it will remain static in the future and this is non-dialectical. We will say it will be anything but what it was in the past. So we say that, at this time, that there is many similarities between the way things seem to change, but they're not the same. In other words, that the Black Panther Party says the proletarian class or the workers here in the United States, the workers under the same conditions that we have today, do not carry the potential for revolution. They do not carry the potential to change society into a place where people will be able to live happily together in unity and sharing.

We said they do not carry that we say the Lumpen proletarians carry it and we say the Lumpen proletarians are the unemployables. We say that we would also agree with some of the scholars that it takes a popular revolution to



change society into a socialist or communist society. It's never done by a class that does not have the potentiality for majority or being the majority or in fact, is not the majority. But it at least has to have the potentiality to be a majority. And all of the conditions would have to be such to indicate that this class will be the majority in the future. For being the majority to lead the revolution. But we say that following the lumpen proletarian we admit again, and I say this not to be redundant, for emphasis added, that we are minority and the lumpen proletarian means the Left Wing of the proletarian class or the unemployables who once were workers or maybe they never even made that status, you see. But at any rate, they are not workers at this point, or maybe they're seasonal, they're only employed in seasons and we say the conditions in the country at this time would indicate this, that we do carry the potentiality of being the majority because, if according to some experts, if the ruling circle remains in power for the next ten years, that the industry in this country will only need 10,000 men or proletarians to deal with that.

In other words, there will be only 10,000 proletarians. And everything would be mechanized to the point where it would be a push button operation so those people running the

industries, we wouldn't even call them proletarians any more, we would call them what some people say are technocrats. The age of technocracy would be the order of the day and we see because things are always changing, technology does not stay in the same place, that it's changing all the time. I could start, we could start at automation, and we could go from there to cybernation and now at the present day we're going through the age of technocracy. Technocrat is a man who is so skilled to the point where a few people could stand at buttons, calculating machines, IBM, electric brains and turn out automobiles and anything necessary, you see. So we say that while the lumpen proletarian class at this time is in the minority that we have a future majority, we have the necessary alienation from the production because it does not serve us. And because we don't even work at it to want to and need to create the new society.

The proletarian class at this time is on the decline, it's eliminating, the capitalist is eliminating itself while the lumpen proletarian class or the unemployables are on the upsurge. Just as the peasantry in Russia in 1917 was on the decline while the proletarian class was on the upsurge. So,

therefore, using the dialectical method, we see that things are constantly eliminating themselves and every determination has a limitation and every limitation has a determination.

Therefore, we are sure if the trends of technology and if the revolution doesn't happen in a couple of years that the lumpen, proletarian class, will lead that. We'll be the vanguard class that holds potentiality to create the new world. So we say this, we say what shall we do? Shall we stop relating to the proletarian class? No! Because, remember we said things do not change, they're transformed. Those same people who are now proletarians are getting very afraid and even some of the proletarians are attacking people who are not working because they are afraid they might not have a job in the next few years. Instead of blaming their master, and the super rich, or all other means of production, they blame a person who does not have a job who might be the lumpen. So this is not from unconsciousness. But everyone would agree that what is happening today is that people are becoming unemployed and unemployable, and we say that while the proletarian will become lumpen, they'll do just that. So we wouldn't mind going into the factories organizing there because the same man who has a job today will not have the job tomorrow. So why wait

until tomorrow to start educating him to the necessities of revolution, why not start today? So we would do this.

Now I say that we've been criticized because many people say well they're not really Marxists because all Marxists know the proletarians will lead the revolution. And we say not so, the lumpen proletarians will do so. And I said this in order to make this Point: That along with the transformation of all things that we have some new phenomena. We have the lumpen proletarians, we have the world being one community now. We have the world being one community and there's an action for nations. The United States is not even a nation, because we call that empire. In history, empires could exist and they did exist along with other nations. We'll agree to this, and we said that the Romans had an empire, but while they had an empire there were some nations in existence that the Romans didn't even know about. So we call the Roman Empire the primitive empire. The Romans ruled all the known world. But this is why they called themselves imperialists. They had an empire because they ruled all the known world. Today I think we could reach an agreement that the fascist forces in the small ruling circle who controls them,

the bosses, they know all of the world, and control all of it. So therefore, the modern empire doesn't make allowances for any other nation being in existence. And I say that the difference from colonialism where a country's economy and culture and political institutions are only partially controlled because we're saying that the ruling circle, the 76 companies, and some experts say 20 companies have integrated the economy, the culture, the political institutions into one body, and that's the ruling circle who operates out of Manhattan or Wall Street. They not only have taken the wealth from everyone, they also took people, they took people, they took the Africans from Africa in 1619 to Jamestown and they started to use the labor of black Africans for their own advancement. Then they took the Chinese - they shanghaied the Chinese and they worked the Chinese on the railroad. And then they took wealth from Africa, Asia, and Latin America. They centralized it. They centralized it. One of the means to have a socialist society is to have centralization. That's why the capitalists in Russia in 1917 served a positive purpose as well as a negative one and after the economy and I say that first its not enough to say everything has been centralized, let's investigate that.



The first thing, what is a nation. A functional definition, a very functional definition - a nation first usually is a land space, a geography that separates it from other people, from other land space, from other culture by either land or partition or water, or some division, and this group of people who live on this particular land space will control, they control their political institutions, their cultures, and they have control of their territorial integrity. In other words, that no one can violate the territory without a fight, and matter of fact, they have enough control where they could be pretty sure that they will not suffer the wrath of another people from another land space and another culture. Also, they control the political institution and their economy. Now, as this particular, as these people in this other geographical location lose these qualities, we start to doubt their nationhood for whatever reasons. Now if they lose enough of them, we say that the country has been colonized. If their political institutions control, if their economy is controlled to a certain degree, but yet they still have the wealth and the ground for potentialities to pull out of that and control their thinking at a later date, let's call that

colonialism.

Let's add another characteristic that people from a mother country are present there as settlers, and controlling the major political institutions. And then after colonialism becomes somewhat sophisticated, the settler draws out, and still he controls some of the economy, usually a single crop, or a single part, and he attempts to inflict his culture in order to maintain his support. After he controls the political institution, the economic institution, the cultural institution, and after he violates the land, the territorial boundary lines whenever he wants to, then we would say that the country's not a nation, and then if he takes all of this, and integrates it into one centralized control, then we would say a nation who does not exist at all. We would say more or less it's like a community. It's like a community under siege. It's like a community where an occupying army and also a small group of people who don't even live there and taking the wealth, whether it's human labor, whether it's materials on the ground, and taking that and centralizing some place else. Matter of fact, we would say that it fits the community that we would call a community, not only under siege, but a community in possession by someone else.

Well, I'm very hung-up now. I just received a note that we only have ten minutes, because school is going to be out, but really I've only laid the foundation to try to gain some truth, and that it would take me a couple of more hours, but I would like to say this, I'll try to accelerate my language which I find difficult doing, and I say this, today, what exists is reactionary intercommunalism. Reactionary intercommunalism exists when the people of the world, the communities of the world are under siege to the point where the ruling circle forces are actually in that country, controlling that country, and when the whole world's apparatus of economy and culture through the advancement of technology and the mass-media, is also under change. In other words, black people in this country once had a culture, of our own, but yet we were transformed by the mass-media here and the small group of the ruling circle is in control of that. And, in other words, that we've been almost completely transformed and now it takes about five hours to get to New York, this again advancement of transportation, takes about five hours to fly to New York, and it takes about ten hours to get to Algiers, Algeria, where our Minister of Information is, Eldridge Cleaver,

who incidentally wants to come back home, and you can prepare a place for him. But we only have a little time and I'll try to speed up. That it takes ten hours to get to Vietnam, it takes just about eleven hours to get to any point in the world from any place, you see. And if you couple this with the fire power of the ruling circle, if you couple this with the wealth that's been ripped off and centralized, you'll see that the world is one community and black people in this country are dispersed collection of communities, you know a community in Watts, a community in Oakland, a community in Harlem.

We see the same thing with the Chinese in San Francisco. You have a community of Chinese in Chinatown. You also have a community of Chinese in Hong Kong and also in the People's Republic. A community under siege, a community that anything they organize, they have to take under consideration of force of the United States, they have to take under consideration the existence of the United States to plan their own lives, and that means their lives are really controlled, So we say the people of the world represents not a nation, but a collection of institutions, they're supposed to serve the

the people who live around them, and conceivably you can live your whole life without getting most of the desired things, and most of the reinforcements and gradifications out of living in that one community, so the difference from the nation because usually they're a collection of communities revolving around one super structure, and now the world is always revolving around the ruling circle of the United States, and we say that the occupying army has many faces but they act the same way. The same army that has the people's community of Vietnam under siege is the same community that has the Black Panther Party house and the black community and the university community under siege here. All of the forces never live in the community, always live outside of it. It's the same with the Vietnamese people. So we say that what we want is really not reactionary intercommunalism, but revolutionary intercommunalism, where all communities in the world unite and down the racist reactionary exploited, and then give the power to the people where the people will control their own communities. So we say the Vietnamese people and the African people in Angola and Mozambique want the same thing. All the people in Latin America want the same thing. They want the racists, fascists



troops to withdraw from their community, stop the murder of their people so they can control their institutions there and then so the people of the world will not unite and for awhile we will have what we call revolutionary intercommunalism, because the people of the communities of the world would then have a revolutionary inter-relationship instead of the reactionary kind. The reactionary kind that was brought on by the fascists.

One more point, remember we said every determination has a limitation and every limitation has a determination. This also proves what is happening now. So therefore, the ruling circle can eliminate itself by centralizing some of the wealth and make the world one so the people of the world will be truly united as we are now but only in the reactionary fascists. So what has happened is this. That we will have one world, in fact we do have one world as far as culture is concerned, that the world is so small now that all of our cultures be modified, but we want it to be modified in a revolutionary way, and we don't want that small ruling circle to control that transformation. We want all the people together to control it and in order to control it we have to

to take control of the means of production and also the mass-media that most culture. We know that we can't hold onto even our old African culture, that our culture's going to change anyway, because everything is under change, but we don't like the way it has changed. We don't want the kind of values that's been established by the ruling circle, but we will acknowledge the change, but what we say is this, that at the point of the capitalists, the ruling circle, ripping off everything, that we say here in the United States even if we had a revolution, it could never be a socialist revolution. The reason it could never be a socialist revolution is because a socialist revolution relies upon statehood. Marx said that society has a tendency to develop from, say, slave society, which virtually doesn't exist anymore, and to weigh slaves from there they call a capitalist developed. From there, capitalist state, from capitalist state to socialist state, and then to non state, but we, as Marx said at one time, the people will become, would be the power of the people would bring on this age where statehood and state will wither away, but we find after a correct analysis that the state has already been withered away by the reactionary. That's why we

have now reactionary in the communalism. So what has happened is this. While the capitalists centralized the wealth in Russia in 1917 or off that land space, they could have a socialist revolution, and we would already laid out whether they did or not, and at this time the United States could not have a socialist revolution because if we had a revolution here with the people in this geographic location, were to take over means of production, and we did not have a redistribution of wealth on a world level, there would not be a revolution, because a socialist revolution also says that the people must share equality in their wealth and the possession that the people must be returned.

But what if you get in a situation where a small group of people hold possession of the world goods? So this would mean in order for them to have truly a socialist revolution, and I like the word because it's not a social, in order for them to have honest, good revolution, a revolution that's fair, they would have to have a redistribution of wealth on a world level, and this is what communism is about. Because it's a world planning of the economy, it's a world interchange of cultures, it's a world interchange of people because territorial

lines will not exist only within the revolutionary way, but we cannot go into this right away, because the Communist ideology is also a spiritual thing or cultural thing, and I say that when we have our revolution, it will be the age of, revolutionary intercommunalism will exist..

Because my mouth is too dry. Let me see, I'm trying to hurry.

Look, we cannot hide a, after the state has withered away we cannot have a complete change all at once, so revolutionary intercommunalism will linger and this is why. In sociology we learn that there's a structural change, there's also a cultural lag. In other words, after you change. The means of production or after you change an institution or organize a certain level of society, the values of the people will lag behind the change, and this is why that we will not go directly into an age of communism because while the people receive the structure, which is the means of production, it will take a time to get rid of racist thought, bourgeois thought, and reactionary thinking. So we have a structural change, but yet it will take a time for the people to deal with the mass-media in order to create a culture that's essentially human, and this is the culture when there was the most, the best in

man, and also it would be the time where the people will siege the means of production, where the proletariats will still not exist, because one of themselves said that at some point where after the people received the means of production, then they would develop it to such an extent where a few men would be able to stand in one place, push buttons and move mountains, because, in fact, that Marx was a pretty lazy person, and he wanted to free man from toil.

So we say the proletarian class is not even a static class because it's not static. As a matter of fact, it should not be, because we want to get away from the toil by the sweat of our brow, and we will do it by developing our technology so that we can then engage in productive creativity and with the people of the world, minds will be changed so we will see that we are all very similar and not so different after all, that we have more similarities, as a matter of fact, because we're all homosapiens or of the same species, and there will be no need for the ruling circle to create a racist society, a society because the bridges were not united, and the people will prevail, and the people who truly have power, and the people who then will go from one country or one land



space to another, just as now you go from your home to this school. And we'll share, and this seems to be the trend, and if I'm wrong, it's not because my thinking is wrong, it's simply because, perhaps, the application is wrong, and perhaps you will be able to give us something. But as long as it is the case that the Black Panther Party will struggle with people in the world.

Power to the people. Free Bobby, free Bobby Seale. Free Angela, and free the Soledad Brothers, and we have to free all political prisoners. And I'm sorry that I bored you. We don't even have time for a question and answer period. I'll come back sometime. Thank You.

PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY

SF 157-1203

"The New York Times" city edition, Tuesday, April 20, 1965, page 27, reported that a new party of "revolutionary socialism" was formally founded on April 18, 1965, under the name of the Progressive Labor Party (PLP) which had been known as the Progressive Labor Movement.

According to the article, "The Progressive Labor Movement was founded in 1962 by MILTON ROSEN and MORTIMER SCHEER after they were expelled from the Communist Party of the United States for assertedly following the Chinese Communist line."

A source advised on June 3, 1968, that the PLP held its Second National Convention in New York City, May 31 to June 2, 1968, at which time the PLP reasserted its objective of the establishment of a militant working class movement based on Marxism-Leninism.

The source also advised that at the Second National Convention MILTON ROSEN was unanimously re-elected National Chairman of the PLP and LEVI LAUB, FRED JEROME, JARED ISRAEL, WILLIAM EPTON, JACOB ROSEN, JEFFREY GORDON, and WALTER LINDER were elected as the National Committee to lead the PLP until the next convention.

The PLP publishes "Progressive Labor," a bimonthly magazine, and "Challenge-Desafio," a monthly newspaper.

Source advised on May 25, 1970, that the PLP utilizes an address of General Post Office Box 808, Brooklyn, New York, and also utilizes an office in Room 617, 1 Union Square West, New York, New York.

APPENDIX

REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH MOVEMENT

A source advised that the Revolutionary Youth Movement II (RYM II) faction of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) held a national conference at Atlanta, Georgia, from November 26 to 30, 1969. At this conference it was decided to form a new organization to be known as Revolutionary Youth Movement (RYM), characterized as a mass anti-imperialist youth organization, said organization being proposed as separate and distinct in form and content from SDS. The "Principles of Unity" adopted by the conference included a struggle against white supremacy and male supremacy; fights against imperialism, anticommunism, fascism and oppression of youth; and support of the right of self-determination of all "oppressed nations," also support of the right of all "oppressed and exploited" peoples "to armed self-defense." It was agreed that RYM would not be a Marxist-Leninist organization; however, source said this was decided in order to indicate an organization broad enough in form to be acceptable to everyone. A temporary National Steering Committee (NSC) made up of eight females and two males was elected to govern RYM until national officers could be elected during the Spring of 1970.

RYM publications have listed the RYM National Office (NO) at Post Office Box 5421 and Post Office Box 77012 C, both Atlanta, Georgia, and a second source has advised that the NO has no office space but would probably be considered as located at Apartment 27, 1067 Alta Avenue, Northeast, Atlanta.

Second source advised that women dominated the founding conference and have continued to dominate NSC meetings to the point that "women's liberation" has apparently become the RYM's principal issue - also that RYM's poor financial condition has resulted in its failure to publish a paper. During early 1970, RYM has decided to cater to the working class rather than youth, since the potential for social revolution lies in workers.

A third source has stated that it was decided at the March, 1970, NSC meeting that RYM women had decided the organization will be molded into a "working class, Marxist-Leninist, revolutionary, anti-imperialist, pro-black nationalist, people's women's liberation organization."

APPENDIX

1

SF 157-1203

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
SAN FRANCISCO DIVISION

A source advised on August 1, 1960, the San Francisco Branch of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) was formed approximately in the early part of 1938, and the Oakland Branch of the SWP was formed in the latter part of 1938.

A second source advised on October 26, 1959, that the name of the Oakland Branch of the SWP was changed to the Oakland-Berkeley Branch of the SWP.

A third source advised on May 7, 1970, that the San Francisco Branch and the Oakland-Berkeley Branch of the SWP follow the policies and directives of the National SWP with which they are affiliated.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

APPENDIX



STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

SF 157-1203

Students for a Democratic Society, commonly known as SDS, came into existence at a founding convention held during June, 1962, at Port Huron, Michigan. From an initial posture of "participatory democracy," Marxist-Leninist ideology of various shadings became predominant during 1968-1969 with debate centering on how best to create a revolutionary youth movement. SDS moved from involvement in the civil rights struggle to an anti-Vietnam war position to advocacy of a militant anti-imperialist line linking up the oppressed peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America with the black liberation movement in the United States. All major factions within SDS embrace Marxism-Leninism and identify internationally with China, Cuba and North Vietnam as countries leading the worldwide struggles against the United States. However, the Soviet Union was regarded as imperialist and with the Communist Party, United States of America, "revisionist" in nature.

SDS operated under a national constitution which called for an annual National Convention (NC) and quarterly National Council meetings wherein programs were initiated and debated. Three national officers were elected annually with a National Interim Committee to run the organization. Regional offices and college chapters elected delegates to the national meetings but each functioned independently on local matters. Its official publication "Fire" (formerly "New Left Notes") last appeared in December, 1969.

Internal factionalism of serious proportions developed during 1968-1969 and the following three factions evolved as a result of a split at the June, 1969, NC: Weatherman, Worker Student Alliance (WSA), and Revolutionary Youth Movement (RYM). The effect of the split on SDS chapters throughout the country was divisive. Some aligned with one or the other of the three major factions. Others, unable to identify with any faction, disassociated with SDS completely and changed names.

The SDS national office in recent years was located at 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois. It was closed in February, 1970.

The Weatherman and RYM groups no longer consider themselves associated with SDS, and the WSA group refers to itself as the true SDS.

APPENDIX



STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE

SF 157-1203

A source advised the Student National Coordinating Committee (SNCC), formerly known as the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, is a nonmembership organization founded in 1960 during the civil rights movement in the South.

Under the leadership of STOKELY CARMICHAEL, who was National Chairman during the period of 1966-1967, SNCC evolved from a civil rights oriented group into a black revolutionary organization.

A publication entitled "1967 High Tide of Black Resistance" indicates the year 1967 was considered by SNCC as a historic milestone for the liberation of the black people in the United States. The publication declared that "liberation will come only when there is final destruction of this mad octopus - the capitalistic system of the United States and all its life-sucking tentacles of exploitation and racism that choke the people of Africa, Asia and Latin America."

A second source advised that in April, 1969, SNCC moved its national headquarters from Atlanta, Georgia, to New York City, where it is presently located at St. Peter's Episcopal Church, 336 West 20th Street, New York City.

H. RAP BROWN announced at a press conference in New York City on July 22, 1969, that he had been elected Chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. He announced that the organization was dropping the word "Nonviolent" from its title, and would be known as the Student National Coordinating Committee. BROWN, at that time, stated the use of force is necessary in obtaining revolutionary goals.

A Federal warrant was issued for BROWN on May 4, 1970, at Baltimore, Maryland, charging him with unlawful interstate flight to avoid prosecution for arson, inciting a riot and failure to appear (Title 18, United States Code, Section 1073).

A third source advised that as of May, 1970, SNCC has secured a lease on premises in Augusta, Georgia, which SNCC intends to convert into a "coffeehouse" for GIs from nearby Fort Gordon, Georgia, to disseminate anti-establishment propaganda.

SNCC also has in the planning stage an Agrarian Reform Program for black tenant farmers and the resumption of classes at the H. Rap Brown Liberation School in Atlanta, Georgia.

APPENDIX

WEATHERMAN

Initially called the "Action Faction," Weatherman came into being immediately before the June, 1969 Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) National Convention (NC). At this NC Weatherman won all three national officer positions and a majority of the National Interim Committee as well. Subsequently, they took over the SDS National Office (NO) in Chicago, and controlled its funds, paper and national records. Although internal struggle existed until late 1969, Weatherman for all major purposes controlled SDS nationally from June, 1969, until its NO closed in February, 1970. At this time it no longer considered itself part of SDS.

The term Weatherman emerged from an ideological paper prepared by its leaders entitled, "You Don't Need a Weatherman to Know Which Way the Wind Blows," ("New Left Notes," June 18, 1969). This statement outlined the basic stance of Weatherman: Marxist-Leninist in content but with strong advocacy that action not theory would bring about revolution in the United States. This posture was complemented with an international identification to the Cuban revolution and CASTRO's statement that the duty of a revolutionary is to make revolution.

During October, 1969, Weatherman riots in Chicago resulted in more than 260 arrests for mob action and related charges. A program of armed struggle was finalized during a December, 1969, "War Council" wherein terrorist tactics and political assassination were contemplated. The basic strength of Weatherman was then revealed to be some 300-350 nationally and geographically apportioned to the Midwest, New York, and some Northwest.

As its rhetoric of violence escalated, Weatherman leaders increasingly discussed the necessity of an underground operation wherein more than 90 percent of the organization would be submerged; "affinity groups" of three - five members would function independently. In February, 1970, Weatherman leaders announced a program of "strategic sabotage" with police and military installations as primary targets.

In February, 1970, Weatherman abandoned the SDS NO, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois, and throughout the country entered an underground status.

APPENDIX

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1

SF 157-1203

WORKER STUDENT ALLIANCE/PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY

A source advised during August, 1969, that at the National Convention (NC) of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) held in Chicago, Illinois, during June, 1969, a split arose between the Progressive Labor Party (PLP) and the National Office (NO), the NO becoming known as the Weatherman faction. The PLP faction drew the largest support among those in attendance at the NO.

Source further advised that during late Summer, 1969, the PLP faction of SDS established its National Headquarters (NH) on the second floor of a loft-type building at 173-A Massachusetts Avenue, Boston, Massachusetts. The campaign on which the PLP faction centered was to build a worker student alliance or a campus worker student alliance. Thus, they adopted the names of Worker Student Alliance (WSA) or Campus Worker Student Alliance.

Source stated that the "New Left Notes," printed in New York City, is the official publication of the WSA faction.

A second source advised during January, 1970, that within the SDS, the WSA is a caucus of which the PLP constitutes the leadership.

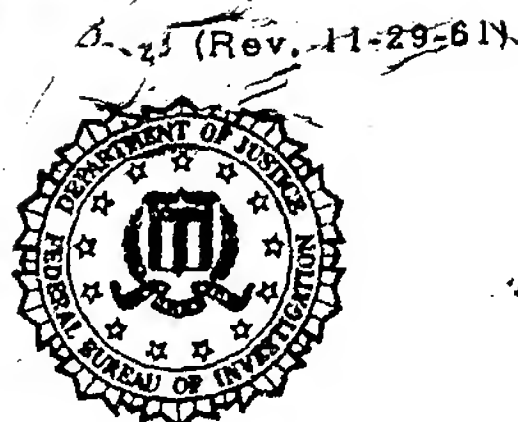
A third source advised during July, 1970, that during demonstrations staged in the Boston area during the Spring and Summer of 1970 by the NH, the main theme of previous demonstrations staged by the NH shifted from protestations of the Vietnam War and other United States foreign policy matters to attacking domestic issues such as racism and unemployment and demonstrating support of the "workers' struggle."

APPENDIX

558\*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~





UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
San Francisco, California

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

April 29, 1971

Title	HUEY PERCY NEWTON
Character	RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY; TREASON
Reference	Report of SA <span style="border: 1px solid black; display: inline-block; width: 150px; height: 1.2em; vertical-align: middle;"></span> dated and captioned as above, at San Francisco, California.

b6  
b7C

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities  
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable  
information in the past.

559

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
FOI/PA  
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET  
FOI/PA# 1214329-0

Total Deleted Page(s) = 8

Page 90 ~ Duplicate - of BLACK PANTHER PARTY appendix page;  
Page 91 ~ Duplicate - of appendix page continued;  
Page 146 ~ Duplicate - of BLACK PANTHER PARTY appendix page;  
Page 153 ~ Duplicate - of BLACK PANTHER PARTY appendix page;  
Page 154 ~ Duplicate - of appendix page continued;  
Page 211 ~ Duplicate - of BLACK PANTHER PARTY appendix page;  
Page 232 ~ Duplicate - of BLACK PANTHER PARTY appendix page;  
Page 233 ~ Duplicate - of appendix page continued;

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAY 6 1971

TELETYPE

NR017 NY C O D E

147PM URGENT 5-6-71 JDF

TO DIRECTOR 105-165429

ATT; DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

NEW HAVEN

SAN FRANCISCO 157-1203

FROM NEW YORK 157-2702 1P

HUEY PERCY NEWTON, AKA; RM - BPP (KBE).

A SPECIAL AGENT OF THE FBI OBSERVED [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] DISEMBARK AMERICAN AIRLINES

FLIGHT EIGHTEEN AT SIX FIFTY-TWO A.M. INSTANT AT JFK INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT, NEW YORK. NEITHER NEWTON NOR [REDACTED] WERE OBSERVED ABOARD SUCH FLIGHT.

THE ABOVE GROUP OF [REDACTED] OBSERVED DEPARTING JFK INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT EIGHT A.M. INSTANT ABOARD AMERICAN AIRLINES FLIGHT TWO ZERO ONE ENROUTE TO HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT.

NO BPP REPRESENTATIVES FROM NEW YORK AREA WERE PRESENT AT THE AIRPORT TO MEET [REDACTED]

ADMINISTRATIVE;

REC 12

EX-104

18 MAY 12 1971

RE SAN FRANCISCO TEL, MAY FOUR LAST AND NYTEL CALL TO NEW HAVEN  
SPECIAL AGENT OBSERVING WAS [REDACTED] LOCAL NYCPD AWARE OF  
ABOVE ARRIVAL AND DEPARTURE.

END

RSP FBIWASH DC

MAY 17 1971

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 10/25/88 BY SP3 DB/pte  
6-26-87 SP5 a/l/pf

Mr. Tolson  
Mr. Sullivan  
Mr. Mohr  
Mr. Bishop  
Mr. Brennan  
Mr. Callahan  
Mr. Casper  
Mr. Conrad  
Mr. Dalbey  
Mr. Felt  
Mr. Gale  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Tavel  
Mr. Walters  
Mr. S. v.ars  
Tele. Room  
Miss Holmes  
Miss Gandy

b6  
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F B I

Date: 5/6/71

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL  
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Brennan CD \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Soyars \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 6-26-87 BY SP5CJ  
px

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165429)

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203) (P)

SUBJECT: HUEY PERCY NEWTON, aka  
RM - BPP; TREASON  
(KEY BLACK EXTREMIST)  
OO: San Francisco

Enclosed for the Bureau are eight copies of  
an LHM setting forth statements made by Subject; and  
two copies of FD-376.

1cc 806  
copies to ISD, SS  
5/10/71  
JTA/jm

4-destroyed  
10 ENCLOSURE

(2) - Bureau (Enc. 10) (RM)  
2 - San Francisco  
JLC:mba  
(4)

REC-3

105-165429-416

12 MAY 12 1971

57 MAY 18 1971

Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

In Reply, Please Refer to

File No. 105-165429

April 6, 1971

Director  
United States Secret Service  
Department of the Treasury  
Washington, D. C. 20220

Dear Sir:

The information furnished herewith concerns an individual who is believed to be covered by the agreement between the FBI and Secret Service concerning Presidential protection, and to fall within the category or categories checked.

1. ☐ Has attempted or threatened bodily harm to any government official or employee, including foreign government officials residing in or planning an imminent visit to the U. S., because of his official status.
2. ☐ Has attempted or threatened to redress a grievance against any public official by other than legal means.
3. ☐ Because of background is potentially dangerous; or has been identified as member or participant in communist movement; or has been under active investigation as member of other group or organization inimical to U. S.
4. ☐ U. S. citizens or residents who defect from the U. S. to countries in the Soviet or Chinese Communist blocs and return.
5. ☒ Subversives, ultrarightists, racists and fascists who meet one or more of the following criteria:
  - (a) ☒ Evidence of emotional instability (including unstable residence and employment record) or irrational or suicidal behavior;
  - (b) ☒ Expressions of strong or violent anti-U. S. sentiment;
  - (c) ☒ Prior acts (including arrests or convictions) or conduct or statements indicating a propensity for violence and antipathy toward good order and government.
6. ☐ Individuals involved in illegal bombing or illegal bomb-making.

Photograph ☒ has been furnished ☐ enclosed ☐ is not available  
☐ may be available through \_\_\_\_\_

Very truly yours,

*J. Edgar Hoover*  
John Edgar Hoover  
Director

1 - Special Agent in Charge (Enclosure(s))  
U. S. Secret Service, San Francisco (RM)

2

Enclosure(s)

(Upon removal of classified enclosures, if any, this transmittal form  
becomes UNCLASSIFIED.)





UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

San Francisco, California

April 6, 1971

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 6-26-87 BY SP5 WJ  
QJ

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

One copy of this memorandum is being submitted  
to the United States Secret Service, San Francisco, California.

The May 1, 1971, issue of "The Black Panther",  
official weekly publication of the Black Panther Party (BPP),  
contained the following statements by Huey P. Newton, Supreme  
Commander and Minister of Defense of the BPP:

The BPP is a black extremist organization  
started in Oakland, California, in December,  
1966. It advocates the use of guns and  
guerrilla tactics to bring about the over-  
throw of the United States Government.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions  
of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your  
agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside  
your agency.

105-165429-416  
ENCLOSURE

# —STATEMENT—

BY  
HUEY P. NEWTON  
MINISTER OF DEFENSE  
OF  
THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY,  
AND SERVANT OF THE PEOPLE

The original vision of the Black Panther Party was to serve the needs of the oppressed people in our communities and defend them against their oppressors. When the Party was initiated we knew that these goals would raise the consciousness of the people and motivate them to move more firmly for their total liberation. We also recognized that we live in a country which has become one of the most repressive governments in the world even to the point of imperialist exploitation in communities all over the world. We did not expect such a repressive government to stand by idly while the Black Panther Party went forward to the goal of serving the people. We expected repression.

We knew, as a revolutionary vanguard, repression would be the reaction of our oppressors; but we recognized that the task of the revolutionist is difficult and his life is short.

We were prepared then, as we are now, to give our all in the interest of oppressed people. We expected the repression to come from outside forces, which have long held our communities in subjection. However, the ideology of dialectical materialism helped us to understand that the contradictions surrounding the Party would create a force that would move us toward our goals. We also expected contradictions within the Party, for the oppressors use infiltrators and provocateurs to help them reach their evil ends. Even when the contradictions come from formerly loyal members of the Party, we see them as part of the process of development, rather than in the negative terms the oppressor's media use to interpret them. Above all, we knew that through it all the Party would survive.

The Party would survive because it had the love and support of the people who saw their true interests expressed in the actions of the Party. The Party would also survive because it would be a political vehicle which continued to voice the interests of the people and serve as their advocates.

The importance of a structured political vehicle has always been apparent

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THE BLACK PANTHER, SATURDAY, MAY 1, 1971



to us. When we went to Sacramento, we went for the purpose of educating the people and beginning the building of a permanent political vehicle to serve their true interests. In our most recent communication with both the North and South Vietnamese Revolutionary Governments, they pointed out that they understood what we were doing and saw it as the correct strategy. They said that a "structured organization is related to politics as a shadow to a man." We recognize that the political machine in America has consistently required Black people to support it, through paying taxes and fighting in wars; but that same machine consistently refuses to serve the interests of the Black community. One of the problems is that the community does not have a structured organization or vehicle which serves its needs and represents the people's interest. You can no more have effective politics without a structured organization, than you can have a man without his shadow. They go together and are necessary to each other. Oppressed Black people -- the lumpenproletariat -- did not have a structured organization to represent their true interests until the Black Panther Party arose from within the community, motivated by the needs and conditions of the people.

Across the country there have been coalitions of Black people and Black caucuses, but these have not served the people as political vehicles. They have merely served as bourgeois structures to get Black candidates into

political office. Once elected, the machinery used to thrust these people into office simply passed out of existence or became ineffective, insofar as serving the true interests of the Black oppressed people.

A truly revolutionary vehicle which will survive the repression it encounters daily is made up of a number of characteristics. First of all there is a small, but dedicated cadre of workers who are willing to devote their full time to the goals of the organization. Secondly, there is a distinct organized structure through which the cadre can function. It is this combination of structure and dedicated cadre which can maintain the machinery for meeting the people's needs. In this way a printing press can be maintained to review the events of the day and interpret them in a manner which serves the people. It can circulate information about daily phenomena and educate the people as to their true meaning. It can carry out programs of service which deliver to the people basic needs which are not satisfied elsewhere, because the lumpenproletariat are the victims of oppression and exploitation. A cadre and a structure, however, are not what makes the political vehicle a revolutionary one. It is the revolutionary concepts which define and interpret phenomena, and establish the goals toward which the political vehicle will work. A revolutionary vehicle is in fact a revolutionary concept set into motion by a dedicated cadre through a particular organized structure.

Such a vehicle can survive re-

pression because it can move in the necessary manner at the appropriate time. It can go underground if the conditions require; and it can raise up again. But it will always be motivated by love and dedication to the interest of the oppressed communities. Therefore the people will insure its survival, for in that survival is the service of their needs. The structured and organized vehicle will guarantee the weathering of the test of internal and external contradictions.

The responsibility of such a political vehicle is clear. It is to function as a machine which serves the true interests of the oppressed people. This means that it must be ever aware of the needs of the communities of the oppressed, and develop and execute the necessary programs to meet those needs. The Black Panther Party has done this through its basic Ten-Point Program. However, we recognize that revolution is a process and we cannot offer the people conclusions--we must be ready to respond creatively to new conditions and new understandings. Therefore we have developed our Free Breakfast Program, our Free Health Clinics, our Clothing and Shoe Programs, and our Busses to Prisons Program, as well as other programs, in response to the obvious needs of Black People. The overwhelmingly favorable response to these programs in every community is evidence that they are serving the true interest of the people.

Serving the true interest of the people also means that the political vehicle must stand between the people and the

oppressive forces which prey upon them in such a manner that the administrators will have to give the appropriate response. Such articulation requires us to have a political organ which will express the interests of the people and interpret phenomena for them. The existence of such a political vehicle is justified only so long as it serves the true interests of the people.

Serving the true interests of the people, however, does not mean that the vehicle is simply a reflector of public opinion, because the opinions of the people have often been molded and directed against their true interests by slick politicians and exploitative educators. Their diversionary tactics often lead the people down blind alleys or onto tangents which take them away from their true goals. We can easily see this when we apply the concept of American democracy to the Black community.

Democracy in America (bourgeois democracy) means nothing more than the domination of the majority over the minority. That is why Black people can cast votes all year long, but if the majority is against us, we suffer. Then the politicians and educators try to deceive the community with such euphemisms as "It's rule by the majority, but the rights of the minority are protected." If, in fact, participating in the democratic process in America were in the interest of the Black community, there would be no need for a



Free Breakfast Program, there would be no need for Free Health Clinics or any of the other programs we have developed to meet the people's needs. The rights of the minority are protected by the standards of a bourgeois government, and anything which is not in their interest is not permitted. This may be democratic for the majority, but for the minority it has the same effect as fascism. When the majority decreed that we should be slaves, we were slaves--where was the democracy in slavery for us? When the majority decreed that we should pay taxes, fight and die in wars, and be given inferior and racist education against our interests, we got all of these things. Where is democracy for us in any of it. Our children still die, our youth suffer from malnutrition, our middle-aged people suffer from sickle-cell anemia, and our elderly face unbearable poverty and hardship because they reach the twilight period of their lives with nothing to sustain them through these difficult times. Where is the democracy in any of this for Black people? Democracy means only that the majority will use us when they need us and cast us aside when they do not need us. A true understanding of the working and effect of American democracy for Black people will reveal most clearly that it is just the same as fascism for us. Our true interests and needs are not being served.

The political vehicle of the people must be guided by a consistent ideology which represents the true interests of

the people. We see an ideology as nothing more than a systematic and organized set of principles for analyzing and interpreting objective phenomena. An ideology can only be accepted as valid, if it delivers true understanding of the phenomena which affect the lives of the people. The development of a wide variety of truths about the community, its internal development, and the external forces surrounding it, will lead then to a philosophy which will help orient us toward goals which are in the true interest of the people.

The Black Panther Party was born in a period of stress when Black people were moving away from the philosophy and strategy of non-violent action toward the sterner actions. We dared to believe that we could offer the community a permanent political vehicle which would serve their true interests by meeting their needs and advocating their interests. We have met many foes; we have seen many enemies. We have been slandered, kidnapped, gagged, jailed and murdered. We know now, more than ever before, that the will of the people is greater than the technology and repression of those who are against the interests of the people. Therefore we know that we can and will continue to serve the people and educate the people.

**ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE**

Huey P. Newton

Minister of Defense

Black Panther Party,

Servant of the People.



## EULOGY FOR SAMUEL NAPIER -

Delivered At  
The Revolutionary Service  
April 24, 1971

By Huey P. Newton  
Minister Of Defense  
Of  
The Black Panther Party,  
Servant Of The People

There's very much in my heart today. And, I have very few words to express them. Samuel L. Napier was one of the first brothers to join the Black Panther Party, and therefore he is a veteran of the struggle. He's always been attached to distribution of our paper, the Black Panther paper, which is the life of the Party. The voice of the people. Those who would cut off Samuel Napier would cut off the voice of the people. But, because the voice is manifested in all of us collectively,

the voice will go on.

Death comes to all of us, but it varies in its significance. To die for the reactionaries, the racists, the capitalists is lighter than a feather. But to die for the people, in service to the people is heavier than any mountain and deeper than any sea. Samuel's death is very significant. He will live on in spirit, because we'll make sure that we will advance the struggle. And we will cry for those who are living, because we are in very bad shape. Samuel has now put down his burden; and it will be very heavy for us, because he carried the burden for thousands. He was an extremely hard worker. We won't be able to replace him. No. We can only fill in the rank, with a hundred, with a thousand men.

Samuel Napier was a servant of the people; he gave the supreme gift to the people. So therefore Samuel Napier was the Supreme Servant of the people.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

THE BLACK PANTHER, SATURDAY, MAY 1, 1971

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Samuel L. Napier is publicly known as the former Distribution Manager of the BPP newspaper. He was shot and killed in New York City on April 17, 1971. The BPP held a revolutionary funeral for Napier in Oakland, California, on April 24, 1971.



5/11/71

Airtel

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b7C

To: SAC, New York (157-2702)

From: Director, FBI (105-165429)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 6-26-87 BY SP5CJ  
UP+

HUEY P. NEWTON  
RM - BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)  
(KEY BLACK EXTREMIST)

Television program directories reflect Newton  
scheduled to appear David Frost show night of 5/14/71  
originating New York.

New York verify this appearance and arrange to  
make audio recording thereof. Submit summary teletype of  
highlights after show followed by detailed LHM and copy  
of recording.

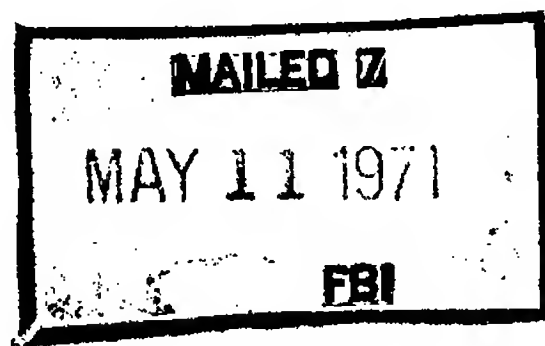
1 - San Francisco (157-1203)

JLA:drl (5)

NOTE:

This is a recorded show which should be of  
interest as undoubtedly Frost will lead Newton on as  
he did Charles Garry, when Garry appeared.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Brennan, C.D. \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Dalbey \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
Soyars \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_



EX-104

REC 18

MAY 13 1971

53 MAY 17 1971  
MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAY 11 1971

NR 001 SF PLAIN

TELETYPE

1127AM URGENT 5-11-71 MS

TO DIRECTOR (105-165429)

LOS ANGELES (157-5552)

FROM SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203) 1P

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 6-26-87 BY SP5 GJ

Mr. Tolson\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Sullivan\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Bishop\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. BrennanCD\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Casper\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Dalbey\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Felt\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gale\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Walters\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Soyars\_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room\_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes\_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy\_\_\_\_\_

HUEY PERCY NEWTON, AKA., RM - BPP (KBE)

RELATEL MAY SEVEN LAST.

FOR INFO LOS ANGELES, NEWTON DEPARTED SAN FRANCISCO NIGHT OF  
MAY TEN LAST, FOR NEW HAVEN, CONN., WHERE HE IS ATTENDING TRIAL OF  
BOBBY SEALE. DATE NEWTON TO RETURN TO SAN FRANCISCO AREA NOT YET  
KNOWN.

IN VIEW OF FOREGOING, IT APPEARS THAT NEWTON WILL NOT APPEAR  
AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA (UC) AT IRVINE, CALIF., FOR HIS  
ENGAGEMENT NIGHT OF MAY ELEVEN, INSTANT. HOWEVER, SAN FRANCISCO HAS  
NO INFORMATION THAT NEWTON HAS IN FACT CANCELLED THE APPEARANCE.

LOS ANGELES DETERMINE IF NEWTON'S APPEARANCE AT UC AT IRVINE  
HAS BEEN CANCELLED.

END

1CC 806

PLB FBI WA

EX-115

REC 18

11 MAY 13 1971

53 MAY 17 1971

## Domestic Intelligence Division

## INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 5-10-71

Our Los Angeles Office is requesting approval to have Agent personnel record speech of Huey P. Newton at the University of California, Irvine, California, at 8:00 p.m., 5-11-71. They have advised that this will not be done unless full security can be assured. This speech is open to the public.

Huey P. Newton is the leader of one faction of the Black Panther Party (BPP) and it is extremely important that we secure recordings of his speeches in order that we might use them as evidence should he make inflammatory remarks. If you concur, our Los Angeles Office will be instructed to tape record Newton's speech provided full security can be assured.

ABK:lrs

*CB*  
*OK*  
*WBS*  
*GCM*  
*7/26*  
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 6-26-87 BY SP5CJ  
QPT

Mr. Tolson ✓  
 Mr. Sullivan ✓  
 Mr. Mohr ✓  
 Mr. Bishop ✓  
 Mr. Brennan ✓  
 Mr. Callahan ✓  
 Mr. Casper ✓  
 Mr. Conrad ✓  
 Mr. Dalbey ✓  
 Mr. Felt ✓  
 Mr. Gale ✓  
 Mr. Rosen ✓  
 Mr. Tavel ✓  
 Mr. Walters ✓  
 Mr. Soyars ✓  
 Tele. Room ✓  
 Miss Holmes ✓  
 Miss Gandy ✓

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 DATE 6-26-82 BY SP5

NR003 LA CODE

254PM URGENT 5-10-71 DLK

TO DIRECTOR (105-165429) ATTN -- DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION  
 FROM LOS ANGELES (157-5552)

Racial Matter-Black Panther Party  
 HUEY P. NEWTON, RM DASH BPP (KEY BLACK EXTREMIST).

RE LOS ANGELES TELETYPE TO DIRECTOR, MAY SEVEN LAST.

BUREAU APPROVAL IS REQUESTED TO HAVE AGENT PERSONNEL  
 RECORD SUBJECT'S SPEECH AT UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA AT  
 IRVINE (UCI), IRVINE, CALIFORNIA, ON MAY ELEVEN NEXT.  
 SPEECH SCHEDULED TO BE HELD CRAWFORD HALL ON CAMPUS AT  
 EIGHT P. M., OPEN TO THE PUBLIC. TAPE RECORDING WILL NOT  
 BE DONE UNLESS FULL SECURITY CAN BE ASSURED.

END

IIAXVFJ

RGSTOMUV;8

REC-41

105-165429

-419

MAY 13 1971

TO: LA, WASH, SF, JMW, JCS

b6  
 b7C



5/11/71

CODE

TELETYPE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 6-26-87 BY SP5-CW

URGENT

TO SACS LOS ANGELES (157-5552)  
SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203)  
NEW YORK  
NEW HAVEN

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

REC-41

FROM DIRECTOR FBI (105-165429) — 419

MAY 11 1971

HUEY P. NEWTON, RM - BPP (KEY BLACK EXTREMIST).

TELETYPE

RELATEL MAY TEN LAST.

PROVIDED FULL SECURITY ASSURED BUREAU AUTHORITY GRANTED  
TO RECORD SCHEDULED SPEECH BY SUBJECT AT UNIVERSITY OF  
CALIFORNIA AT IRVINE, CALIFORNIA, THIS DATE. FOR INFORMATION  
LOS ANGELES SUBJECT DEPARTED SAN FRANCISCO MAY TEN LAST AND  
ARRIVED NEW YORK CITY EARLY A.M. THIS DATE PRESUMABLY ENROUTE  
NEW HAVEN TO ATTEND TRIAL OF BOBBY SEALE. IN VIEW OF THIS  
TRAVEL THERE IS POSSIBILITY HE MAY NOT SHOW FOR SCHEDULED  
SPEECH.

SAN FRANCISCO, NEW HAVEN AND NEW YORK BE ALERT FOR  
TRAVEL OF SUBJECT AND IMMEDIATELY ADVISE BUREAU AND LOS AN

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Brennan, C.D. \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Dalbey \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
Soyars \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

ABF:acs (5)

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☒

51 MAY 19 1971

TELETYPE TO LOS ANGELES, ET AL.  
RE: HUEY P. NEWTON  
105-165429

NOTE:

By referenced teletype Los Angeles requested authority to have Agent personnel record a speech by Newton at the University of California at Irvine, which is open to the public. Speech to be recorded only if full security assured. Director advised of request to record by Informative Note and concurred with recommendation that such authority be granted Los Angeles.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAY 5 1971

TELETYPE

REC-26  
REC-26

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Brennan CD	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Dalbey	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Walters	_____
Mr. Soyars	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

NR 021 SF CODE

9 43 PM NITEL 5/4/71 BEH

TO: DIRECTOR (105-165429)

NEW HAVEN

NEW YORK

FROM: SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203)

HUEY PERCY NEWTON, AKA., RM - BPP (KBE).

RELIABLE SOURCE ON MAY FOUR INSTANT, ADVISED NEWTON, BPP

[REDACTED] WILL PROBABLY GO TO NEW HAVEN, CONN., MAY SIX NEXT AND WILL

ATTEND TRIAL OF BOBBY SEALE AND ERICKA HUGGINS.

b6  
b7C

b6  
b7C

[REDACTED] HAS SPOKEN AT BPP RALLIES IN SAN

FRANCISCO.

END OF PAGE ONE

REC-26

1-800  
1-5FR/S 5/10/71

RN3/mw

2 MAY 13 1971

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 2/18/81 BY 7514 JCH/CLM

53 MAY 20 1971

6-26-87

SP5 W/LPK



PAGE TWO

SF 157-1203

AMERICAN AIR LINES OFFICIAL ADVISED MAY FOUR INSTANT, THAT  
NEWTON, [REDACTED] HOLD RESERVATIONS  
ON AMERICAN AIR LINES FLIGHT EIGHTEEN DEPARTING SAN FRANCISCO  
INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT AT TEN FIFTEEN P.M., MAY FIVE NEXT AND  
ARRIVING AT KENNEDY AIRPORT, NEW YORK CITY, SIX FOURTEEN A.M.,  
MAY SIX NEXT. THEY ALSO HOLD RESERVATIONS ON AMERICAN AIR LINES  
FLIGHT TWO ZERO ONE DEPARTING KENNEDY AIRPORT AT EIGHT A.M., MAY  
SIX NEXT, WHICH ARRIVES HARTFORD, CONN., EIGHT FORTYTWO A.M. RETURN  
RESERVATIONS OPEN.

b6  
b7C

ADMINISTRATIVE:

RESFTEL TO BUREAU APRIL TWENTYNINE LAST, CAPTIONED "TRIAL  
OF BOBBY SEALE AND ERICKA HUGGINS, SUPERIOR COURT, NEW HAVEN,  
CONNECTICUT, NOVEMBER SEVENTEEN NINETEEN SEVENTY, RM".

SOURCE IS [REDACTED]

b2  
b6  
b7C

NEW YORK AND NEW HAVEN, ALERT APPROPRIATE SOURCES AS TO THE  
TRAVEL OF NEWTON AND [REDACTED] TO YOUR AREAS AND ARRANGE APPROPRIATE  
END OF PAGE TWO



PAGE THREE

SF 157-1203

COVERAGE OF THEIR ACTIVITIES SINCE THEY ARE KEY BLACK EXTREMIST  
SUBJECTS.

SAN FRANCISCO WILL FOLLOW ACTIVITIES OF NEWTON AND   
AND ADVISE APPROPRIATE OFFICE OF THEIR DEPARTURES.

b6  
b7C

END

HOLD

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAY 7 1971

TELETYPE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 6-26-87 BY

Mr. Sullivan  
Mr. Mohr  
Mr. Bishop  
Mr. Brennan  
Mr. Callahan  
Mr. Casper  
Mr. Conrad  
Mr. Dalbey  
Mr. Felt  
Mr. Gale  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Tavel  
Mr. Walters  
Mr. Soyars  
Tele. Room  
Miss Holmes  
Miss Gandy

b6  
b7C

NR 014 LA CODE

603 PM NITEL 5-7-71 RWM

TO DIRECTOR (105-165429)

SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203)

FROM LOS ANGELES (157-5552) 2P.

HUEY P. NEWTON, RM - BPP (KEY BLACK EXTREMIST).

RELIABLE SOURCE ADVISED THAT BLACK STUDENT UNION  
(BSU) AT UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA AT IRVINE (UCI) HAS BEEN  
ALLOWED PERMISSION BY SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION TO SPONSOR SUBJECT  
AS SPEAKER ON MAY ELEVEN, NEXT AT EIGHT PM AT CRAWFORD HALL  
ON CAMPUS. EVENT TITLED "CULTURAL EVENING WITH HUEY NEWTON"  
AND PART OF "BLACK CULTURE WEEK" AT UCI.

SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION CONDITIONED NEWTON'S APPEARANCE  
ON NO WEAPONS BEING CARRIED BY NEWTON OR ENTOURAGE AND NEWTON'S  
ALLOWING SEARCH OF HIS PERSON AND BODYGUARDS.

SECOND RELIABLE SOURCE HAS ADVISED THAT THREE THOUSAND  
TICKETS BEING PRINTED FOR OCCASION ASKING ONE DOLLAR DONATION.  
LOS ANGELES BPP MEMBER HAVE BEEN TRAVELING TO SANTA ANA,

END PAGE ONE

1cc 806

EX-103

REC 43

105-165429-421

1 MAY 13 1971

62 MAY 20 1971

F247

LA 157-5552

PAGE TWO

CALIFORNIA TO ASSIST IN ARRANGEMENTS FOR EVENT.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

SOURCE ONE IS [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] SOURCE TWO IS [REDACTED]

b2  
b6  
b7C

SOURCE ONE ADVISED THAT CAMPUS SECURITY IS NOT ALLOWED TO TAPE SPEECHES ON CAMPUS. SHERIFF'S OFFICE ALSO NOT ALLOWED ON CAMPUS. LOS ANGELES IS SURVEYING POSSIBILITY OF ESTABLISHED SOURCES TAPING SPEECH. IF SUCH ARE NOT AVAILABLE AND SECURITY CAN BE ASSURED, LOS ANGELS WILL REQUEST BUREAU AUTHORITY TO HAVE AGENT PERSONNEL RECORD SUBJECT'S SPEECH.

SAN FRANCISCO ADVISE OF DATE AND TIME OF NEWTON'S DEPARTURE WHEN AVAILABLE.

END

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAY 1 1971 *XAL*

NR006 LA CODE

TELETYPE

208PM URGENT 5-11-71 DCB

TO DIRECTOR (105-165429)

SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203)

NEW HAVEN

FROM LOS ANGELES (157-5552) 1P

HUEY P. NEWTON, RM - BPP (KBE).

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 6-26-87 BY SP5

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Brennan	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Dalbey	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Walters	_____
Mr. Soyars	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

RE LA TELETYPE TO DIRECTOR MAY SEVEN, LAST.

A RELIABLE SOURCE ADVISED SUBJECT CANCELLED APPEARANCE  
AT UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA AT IRVINE, WHICH WAS SCHEDULED FOR  
MAY ELEVEN, INSTANT. NO OFFICIAL EXPLANATION AVAILABLE YET.  
RUMORED SUBJECT MAY BE TRAVELLING TO NEW HAVEN INSTEAD, REASON  
UNKNOWN.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

SOURCE IS

SAN FRANCISCO

b2

CONFIRM.

END

EX-103

REC 43

105-105-154-422

MAY 13 1971

51 MAY 19 1971



F B I

Date: 5/11/71

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 6-26-87 BY SP5 CJP

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165429)  
 FROM: SAC, CLEVELAND (157-2633) (P)  
 RE: HUEY PERCY NEWTON, aka.  
 RM - BPP; TREASON - KBE

Re CV tel to Bureau, 4/26/71, captioned as above.

An established source, who has provided reliable info in the past, advised that since HUEY NEWTON did not speak at Cuyahoga Community College (CCC), on 4/24/71, tentative arrangements have been made for him to appear in CV, Ohio, and speak at CCC on 5/26/71. Detailed plans as yet have not been set. It is noted that CV will follow such developments and report appropriate activities as necessary.

Chicago and San Francisco are requested to contact their sources and, if appropriate, keep CV advised of any travel plans of NEWTON.

2-Bureau (RM)  
 2-Chicago (157-4765) (RM)  
 2-San Francisco (157-1203) (RM)  
 2-Cleveland  
 JJC:jac  
 (8)  
 /cc 106

REC 21/05-165429-423

22 MAY 13 1971

ACTA  
 SEC.  
 SEC.  
 SEC.

b6  
b7Cb6  
b7C

51 MAY 19 1971

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

M

Per \_\_\_\_\_

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165429)

DATE: 5/10/71

FROM : *CWB* SAC, CHICAGO (157-3765) (P)

SUBJECT: *B* HUEY PERCY NEWTON, aka  
RM - BPP; TREASON (KBE)  
(OO: SAN FRANCISCO)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE *4-23-81* BY *SP2 TAP/lan*  
*6-26-87* *SP5a/lt*

Re Chicago airtel and LHM dated 4/5/71.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 11 copies of a LHM concerning the appearance of HUEY PERCY NEWTON on "Kup's Show" 4/10/71, in Chicago. Three copies are enclosed for San Francisco.

The first source utilized in the enclosed LHM is [ ] highly confidential and sensitive.

b2  
b7D

The second source is [ ]

The enclosed LHM is classified ~~confidential~~ as information contained therein could reasonably result in the identification of confidential sources of continuing value and compromise future effectiveness thereof.

b2  
b7D

[ ] monitored "Kup's Show" at which time he taped it. The original tape is retained in CG 157-3765-1B1.

Chicago continues to follow this case and will advise of all pertinent information developed.

- 1cc 1018*  
*1cc 806*
- 2 - Bureau (Encl. 1) (RM)
  - 3 - San Francisco (157-1203) (Encl. 3) (RM)  
(1 - 157-1904) (BPP - CHICAGO DIVISION)
  - 4 - Chicago  
(1 - 157-1291 Sub J)  
(1 - 157-1291) (BPP)

b2  
b7D

CES:aja  
(9)

11- ENCL. OUTSIDE

*5- destroyed*

*EX-112*

*105-16*

*REC-88*

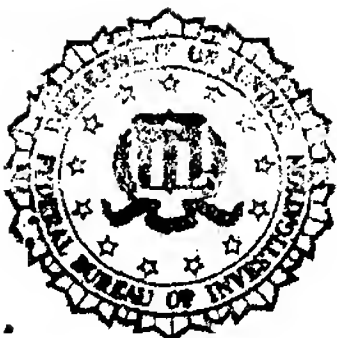
*424*  
MAY 14 1971

INT. SECT.

*EXP. PROC.*



MAY 19 1971



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Chicago, Illinois

May 10, 1971

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No. 157-3765

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

On April 2, 1971, a source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that Huey Percy Newton participated that date in a taped interview at NBC studios, Chicago. The interview was on "Kup's Show," a television talk program moderated by Irving Kupcinec, a Chicago television and newspaper personality. The program is to be televised at a future, unknown date. The source added that Huey Percy Newton is the Supreme Commander of the Black Panther Party (BPP).

The BPP is described on the appendix pages attached hereto.

On April 16, 1971, a second source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, provided the following taped recording of Newton's appearance on April 10, 1971, over WMAQ-TV, NBC, Chicago, on "Kup's Show."

DECLASSIFIED ON

BY

4-23-81  
SP2 Tmp lab  
SP5 W/DA 6-26-89

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~Classification~~

~~Group 1~~

~~Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification~~

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

105-165451-424

ENCLOSURE



HUEY PERCY NEWTON

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Irv Kupcinet

"How do you do and welcome to the Lively Art of Conversation. This show is unrehearsed and the conversation is uninhibited and I'm Irv Kupcinet. I'd like to take just a moment to extend the holiday greetings this weekend which combine both Easter and Passover. Among the guests will be Huey Newton one of the most controversial figures on the scene today and one of the leaders of the Black Panthers, Marvin Aspen, Legal Officer for the Cook County Sheriff and co-author of the Crim. --- of the book Criminal Law for the Layman. Another guest will be J.A. Parker a spokesman for the Young Americans for Freedom."

"Now let me introduce one of the most controversial figures on the American scene today. This is Huey Newton. Mr. Newton is the Minister of Defense for the Black Panther Party, one of the organizer's of that Party and this is Marvin Aspen, Legal Officer for the Cook County Sheriff and co-author of a book called, 'The Criminal Law for the Layman' and from Washington, D.C., J. A. Parker, a leading spokesman for the Young Americans for Freedom. Welcome gentlemen. Huey, if I may call you Huey, tell me what is the goal of the of the Black Panthers -- there's there's so much contradiction and confusion I think about what the real goals are for the Black Panthers, perhaps briefly you could cite what your aims are."

Huey Newton

"I don't know how briefly but I'll try to be a brief I'm rather long winded. The Black Panther Party was organized in 1966 about October and it was organized around a Ten Point Program, and within the program we're very concerned about developing a black community that was stripped away from us after the conquest of the mother country, Africa. The family was disbursed and generally the concept of community was destroyed as far as we were concerned. Now at this late date some 400 years later we find our black people living mostly together concentrated in various urban areas in the city as well as a large



HUEY PERCY NEWTON

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

population of blacks in the south but all of these areas where we blacks live have one thing in common, a most oppressed area, the housing is very poor and sub-standard, the medical care is below standard considering the advancements in medicine and as far as the advantages of living in the country thats supposed to be so very affluent and so fair and Democratic we see the blacks do not benefit by these advancements even if..... "

Kupcinet interrupts Newton

"So far everything you say is what every other good black organization wants for their fellow blacks is it not? To improve the lot of the black man in this country. Now you have been identified so much with communism, Maoist communism branch of communism, is this the means by which you hope to bring about this kind of a change?"

Huey Newton

"It's impossible to import a particular kind of movement from one community to the other. When I speak of community now I'm speaking of geographical location thats commonly called nation. I view the world now as a (inaudible) collection of communities. Each community has its particular problems and it has to be dealt with in a way that is appropriate. (Inaudible) will grasp the imagination of the people and mobilize them in the direction towards freedom. The Black Panther Party is dedicated to analyzing the problem in the most scientific way and in the most objective way so that eventually we can act in our own most subjective interests."

Irv Kupcinet

"Thats a very calm and sort of a peace like proposal your putting forth but yet the Black Panthers have been identified with violence and Hilliard one of your spokesmen said we must have an armed revolution in this country and Eldridge Cleaver I think believes in a form of violence which he deems. You would like you get away from violence is that a...an accurate portrayal?"

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Huey Newton

"The Black Panther Party was always dedicated to the abolition of violence, war and the gun. We use some statements from Chairman Mao and also from (Inaudible two names) Patrice Lumumba (phonetic) and Marcus Garvey (phonetic). We use many statements if they are appropriate, and if they are similar and fit our need."

Irv Kupcinet

"You mean your rhetoric is worse than your action?"

Huey Newton

"I think the oppressors action is worse than can be described. And this is what I'm getting at...."

Irv Kupcinet (interrupts)

"I'm talking about your own rhetoric though."

Huey Newton

"We have a motto which says we're advocates of the abolition of war. Although sometimes war can only be abolished through war in order to get rid of the gun it becomes necessary to take up the gun. This statement is clearly not dedicated to armament but what it is dedicated to is to the elimination of (inaudible). In other words I think that one being an American would be very arrogant, very racist, and very unfair to say that the Vietnamese are dedicated to violence, the Vietnamese...."

Irv Kupcinet (interrupts)

"Which Vietnamese are you talking about the South or the North?"

Huey Newton

"No I'm talking about the Vietnamese in both

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

the south and the north who are fighting to oust the foreign intruder which happens to be the American aggressor, the fascist."

Irv Kupcinet

"Well I don't think your facts are correct there, are they? Do you think the south Vietnamese is fighting to kick the Americans out of Vietnam?"

Huey Newton

"Of course, the provisional revolutionary government is located in the south not the north."

Irv Kupcinet

"Your talking about the Viet Cong."

Huey Newton

"Wait a minute I'm talking about Vietnamese people. They call us Niggers they call them Cong you see, I call them Vietnamese people because I've never heard them call themselves Cong."

Irv Kupcinet

"Well the VC is not a derogatory term."

Huey Newton

"Well, Viet Cong is derogatory to the Vietnamese as he calls himself the Vietnamese."

Irv Kupcinet

"I never heard, I never heard it being derogatory but thats besides the point but you must admit there are a lot of south Vietnamese fighting on the (inaudible) of the American."



HUEY PERCY NEWTON

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Huey Newton

"Have you ever heard the South Vietnamese call himself a Viet Cong?"

Irv Kupcinet

"I can't say I have and I can't say I haven't... I don't know. The term is used commonly."

Huey Newton

"Well then you should investigate because you could learn something..."

Irv Kupcinet

"You may be right. I don't think its an important point."

Huey Newton

"Anyway, anyway, I'm saying that just as the Vietnamese are oppressed by a police action because the President said long ago that theres no war going on in Vietnam its the police action just as we had in Korea some years ago. There's also a police action going on in our community and we feel that we must defend ourselves from that kind of aggression."

Irv Kupcinet

"You mean all the violence from the Black Panthers is a reaction to the police action is that what you're saying?"

Huey Newton

"Well the victim is never violent. The victim can only use self-defense. Aggression is related to violence. We must understand the difference between the self defense of the victim and the violence of the aggressor, so I charge the United States ruling circle. I charge Mayor Daley and a his vicious police dogs who killed Fred



HUEY PERCY NEWTON

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Hampton and Marv Clark right here in Chicago. I charge them with violence. And also the Grand Jury charged them with violence I believe, so, I can't very well say that Fred Hampton was violent when he only suffered violence. The black community throughout this country did not create the situation that we not only suffer aggression and a physical weight from the police revolver but we also suffer violence from being deprived and matter of fact its more daily than anything else because it makes you a living dead man..."

Irv Kupcinec

"You charge that the Chicago police and Marv Aspen have been connected in one form or another. Do you have any comment to make about that?"

(Another Speaker) Number 1

"Well, I think the whole tone of Huey's remarks are kind of interesting. You know the scattered end approach, the saying in one breath that you know we're not for violence with the gun yet we've got to take it up. Practically every bit of violence or every war for that matter is justified because this is a means to end a war of violence and that kind of circular reason isn't effective as far as...."

Huey Newton

"American thinks so. Or else they would withdraw their troops from all the communities in the world if...."

Number 1 Speaker

"Well, we're not talking about the Vietnam war. Now I happen to agree that with...."

Huey interrupts - says something inaudible.

Number 1 Speaker

"Well lets lets talk about Huey Newton and the Black Panthers."

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HUEY PERCY NEWTON

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

All speakers talk at once in argument form.

Number 1 Speaker

"Let's keep it to the domestic situation before we get to the a foreign situation."

Huey Newton

"Lets talk about the murder of Mark Clark and Fred Hampton."

Number 1 Speaker

"Well perhaps we can talk about some of the things that happened before the murder of Fred Hampton...."

All speak at once again.

Number 1 Speaker

"I think its very interesting, the blanket charge against Mayor Daley and his police. As a matter of fact the police officers involved in the unfortunate incidents are being investigated right now by the Special Grand Jury composed of both white and black lawyers in the City of Chicago. From what I can understand they have not had too much cooperation from the Panthers in this investigation. I think there's no question that the people involved in this were not Chicago police officers as such. In other words they were Chicago police officers on loan to the States Attorneys office and were under the direction of the States Attorneys investigative personnel. They were not under the command of the Chicago Police Department at the time and even if they were they wouldn't be under the command of Mayor Daley. So this is just an example of the broad brush that you sweep with."

Huey Newton

"Fred Hampton is dead. That's not broad."

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

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Huey Newton

"Mark Clark is dead."

Number 1 Speaker

"Yeah, but the charges you made were against Mayor Daley and his police. He's pointing out that these were States Attorneys police and had nothing to do with the Chicago Police Department."

Huey Newton

"Well, I'm used to people passing the buck but Fred Hampton's mother will not pass the buck."

Number 1 Speaker

"Well, we're not denying that but you're making a charge that...."

All speakers and Huey Newton argue together at once.  
Inaudible.

Number 1 Speaker

"You are making erroneous, irresponsible charges that you don't have any facts to support."

Huey Newton

"I'm, I'm not only....."

Number 1 Speaker

"And its that kind of arguing that loses people who might sympathize with some of your social means and goals...."

Huey Newton

"Alright, I'll, I'll say this. I'm used to hearing the justifier speak and he always passes the buck and say its not the local, its the state. Its not the state its

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

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the domestic, its not the domestic its the international policy. I said that with all of these words theres something behind the violence. The Black Panther Party's dedicated to eliminating this violence and in the process we will defend ourselves from it. Now you don't even know who's responsible or what agency was responsible."

Number 1 Speaker

"No, I don't know. We're trying to...."

All speakers argue at one time.

Huey Newton

"In other words what you are saying is that Mayor Daley was not connected at all with the States Attorney, has no control on him and that actually something is wrong with the structure of the government. In fact there's something wrong with the structure of the American government, and that is that we always get a situation where someone wants to pass the buck. I said that you are responsible and in some way I am responsible and I'm not attempting to make the transformation so that I will no longer be responsible. I would not stand witness in other words to murder. If I stand witness to murder and I do nothing then I'm not standing witness and agreeing. I will be responsible when we go into the community to organize survival programs as far as health is concerned. We have here in Chicago a very large a health clinic where we feed children. We try to make them live and then when the police try to end that life with the service revolver then we take up arms and will defend ourselves. Then the Black Panther Party is the most violent group in the whole world.

Irv Kupcinec

"Let me interrupt for just a moment we'll come right back to this discussion with Mr. Newton and the others after this message."

Commercial.



HUEY PERCY NEWTON

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Irv Kupcinec

"Mr. Parker you wanted to get a word in."

Mr. Parker

"Yeah, well Huey I know you've been...I've been reading some of your quotes, at least the quotes attributed to you, for a number of years and you've been suggesting a different kind of political and economic system. I'm interested in just what kind of system you're interested in replacing our political and economic system with?"

Huey Newton

"First the Black Panther Party believes that a transformation is necessary because we're not satisfied with the kind of treatment and the kind of...."

All speakers argue again.

Huey Newton

"May I finish please."

Speaker

"But just what kind of a system will it be?"

Huey Newton

"Well I have to start at the point that I want to. That is that we see there's a need for transformation. I'm sure you agree with that."

Speaker

"Well I-I-I-"

Huey Newton

"Because you're not satisfied...."

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

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Speaker

"I believe that you agree that theres a need for transformation I want to know what the transformation is going to end up as."

Huey Newton

"No. I asked you a question. You also think that there needs to be some improvement don't you?"

Speaker

"Wait a minute. I just asked you the question now all you have to do is answer it. Don't answer a question with a question to me."

Huey Newton

"I don't know if I want to answer your question..."

Speaker

"Oh, thats a different ball game then. Your not... your not..."

Huey Newton

Alright, would you answer my question... would you answer my question..."

Speaker (Keeps talking at same time Huey talks)

"I just asked a simple question. I just want to know where you are - I just want to know where you are... so we could go from there..."

Huey Newton

"Are you satisfied with the situation of a people of color in this country, black people...."

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

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Speaker

"Huey I'll be very happy to answer questions you ask as long as you answer mine. I just asked you a very simple question."

Huey Newton

"Well I won't answer your question. If you asked the question I might answer it at first...."

Irv Kupcinec

"Let me ask you a question Huey."

Huey Newton

"And I'll ask you one and let's see how it works out again. Go ahead."

Speaker

"I...you want to make some changes in the economic system of the United States."

Huey Newton

"Don't you think some changes are necessary in this country at this time?"

Speaker

"Absolutely. But I want to know what changes you want to make."

Huey Newton

"Now, you've qualified because you've...."

Speaker

"I didn't qualify at all, I just asked you what kind of changes you want to make."

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HUEY PERCY NEWTON

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Huey Newton

"No, no first you've qualified at for me to answer the question. In other words if you would not answer a simple question then I will not answer your question."

Speaker

"I answered your question."

Huey Newton

"You did?"

All speakers argue.

One Speaker says while Huey continues talking

"We'll we'll come back to you in a minute, we'll come back to you in a minute."

Huey Newton

"I don't want to talk to you cause you didn't answer my question. Now first we need change, secondly we must go about analyzing the problem in a scientific manner. We must not use emotionalism but we should try to resolve contradictions which brings about either a peaceful kind of confrontation or else one thats violent. We would like to see a negotiated peaceful transformation but do not believe it will come about because of the greed of the ruling circle. We would like a cooperative type of government where the people and the various communities in the country will have complete control of all institutions and will appoint representatives to run their co-ops. They will own these things where there's housing, where there is a market place, and where there is education. We cannot back track history, you can never turn history back. This is a very highly developed urban country the technology is fast going into technocracy. So we have some big national industries. We feel that these national industries should serve the community by pouring the resources back into these many



HUEY PERCY NEWTON

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dispersed ethnic communities throughout the country so that the people can integrate into their cooperatives. This is the plan. Its not a whole plan because after the transformation there will be many things...."

Speaker

"How do you accomplish this Huey?"

Huey Newton

"Does that answer your question?"

Speaker

"That answers the question, yes."

Huey Newton

"Thank you."

Speaker

"To me what you're espousing is the type of socialism that many organizations advocate. Many candidates go on the ballot in this city and throughout this country on that type of a program but I think... its a form of socialism."

Another Speaker

"No, its more Maoism."

Huey Newton

"I'll say it is."

Speaker

"I wouldn't want to put words in Huey's mouth."

Speaker

"All right."

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

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Huey Newton

"I call it the cooperative government."

Speaker

"Yeah, all right."

Speaker

"I wouldn't want to put words in his mouth."

Huey Newton

"I appreciate that...May I ask you a simple question...."

Speaker

"I asked you first though....."

All argue.

Irv Kupcinet

"We'll come right back to you Jay. We'll come right back to you Jay."

Speaker

"I don't really care what (inaudible) you put in it. I think its fine. I think in this country... this show is probably an example of it...anybody can espouse any type of government or social institution they want. But to me whats even more relevant..."

Huey Newton (interrupts)

"Well I don't think that qualifies...."

Speaker

"Let let me finish...a minute Huey."

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

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Huey Newton

"The structure for a democracy of being fair. It shows fascism in this country is so advanced, is so brazen, it can let the victim speak and feel secure that nothing will happen. In Spain where fascism is somewhat weak the government is afraid so if you utter a word against it then they (inaudible) come down. So this very program is a monument for the people to see that the country is so fascist and so strong it will even let the victim scream."

Speaker

"Well, as I started to say before...another speaker interrupts..."

Speaker

"The other (inaudible) is that we do encourage dissent in this country and we give everybody a voice to speak their mind..."

Huey Newton

"Right, you know but you do not..."

Speaker

"I'm very curious...Huey... I'm very curious. All that you say is fine and whether you agree that we have a democracy this program is a democracy in action..."

Huey Newton

"Oh yeah, who fought democracy?"

Speaker

"All right whether it is or not that's irrelevant..."

Huey Newton

"The people don't have a democracy..."

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

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Speaker

"That's irrelevant to the point that I'm making right now. My point is simply this. How are you going to accomplish this?"

Huey Newton

"We will accomplish it by things that are sufficient, efficient, and necessary."

Speaker

"Forget that gobby gook. How are you going to accomplish it. In action not words. What are you going to do?"

Huey Newton

"I will not let you rest in peace and I give you the plans so that then you will say well, I'm satisfied he said if you'll let me stay in power because he'll only accept compromises."

Speaker

"Maybe I want to join your organization Huey, maybe I want to join forces with you if you tell me what the plan is then maybe I can..."

Huey Newton

"You wouldn't be able to join because you don't answer simple questions."

Speaker

"Don't say I won't be able to join you. You don't know if I might be converted on this program... if you say the right things. Who knows?"

Huey Newton

"It would be easier for a camel to go through an eye hole of a (inaudible) than it would be for you to be



HUEY PERCY NEWTON

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transformed into a peoples advocate."

Speaker

"I just learned something I didn't know."

Another Speaker

"Where did you draw that conclusion on Mr. Parker?"

Huey Newton

"My father's a preacher."

Speaker

"Well I said I just learned something cause I didn't know you believed in the Bible."

HUEY NEWTON

"Well, I don't have to believe anything. And the other thing is that you don't understand the English language."

Speaker

"You told me that you do?"

Huey Newton

"In order to quote...Did I say that I believe that?"

Speaker

"That's why I'm asking the question."

Huey Newton

Well you should have asked it first, and not pretended that I made a statement."

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

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Speaker

"Well I'll get around to asking all kinds of questions...."

Speaker

"Huey, I still don't understand how you are going to accomplish these things that you say you're going to do. Are you going to do it by the ballot box? Are you going to do it in the street? If so how are you going to do it in the street? I think these are the important things rather than...."

Huey Newton

"Well, actually (inaudible) is dedicate the service to the people and its not what we would do because we can't do anything. The people mobilize the people on the move. They will make the transformation that an organization or party can make. The transformation thats necessary in this country.

Speaker

"Well, how are they how are the people going to do it Huey?"

Huey Newton

"What we can do is build a kind of institution thats necessary so they can exert power and these will be countered to the bourgeois institutions including the electoral kind of arena where the only people who enjoy the democracy..."

Speaker

"Well, now you've made a very firm statment that you're going to reconstruct organizations. What kind of organizations are the people going to express themselves in."

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

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Huey Newton

"Well, if you were socially aware you would know that right here in Chicago we have a health clinic, that it is very much used by the people and we also feed children."

Speaker interrupts

"I know very well on West 16th Street."

Huey Newton

"We make loans to a welfare recipients throughout the country and we pass out clothing. We do everything so the people will survive..."

Speaker

"You had a Breakfast Program which has been successful but has reduced itself for some reason or another."

Huey Newton

"There's always trials and tribulations with the victim to exist. If we were satisfied then we would have already won a ....."

Speaker

"Now are these the methods you need to convert the people by these various things you have just cited?"

Huey Newton

"I've given you some of the means by which we'll use to survive but this will not deliver us our salvation. It will not bring us to the goal because in order to get rid of the survival program we would have to first eliminate the causes of it and in order to eliminate the cause it will take a complete transformation of American society."

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

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Speaker

"How are you going to accomplish that transformation?"

Huey Newton

"By those means that are efficient and sufficient..."

Speaker

"Well what are they? Obviously..."

Speaker

"I mean you're talking in a circle now. Apparently you don't want to answer that question."

Huey Newton

"I've answered the question."

Speaker

"No I think he did say originally that he didn't want to let anybody know outside of his organization or...."

Huey Newton

"No, I didn't say that."

Speaker

"Well you suggested that anyway..."

Speaker

"One minute gentlemen....."

Huey Newton

"If you have a problem with semantics a..."



HUEY PERCY NEWTON

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Everyone speaks at once; inaudible.

Irv Kupcinet

"One gentlemen in Chicago the Reverend the Reverend Jesse Jackson..."

Huey Newton

"I think you have both a comprehension problem also a word problem."

Speaker

"All right."

Irv Kupcinet

"Let me get back to the conversation. I'll come right back. You want to ask a question Jay. I'll bow to you sir."

Jay

"I'd simply like to know what kind of economic system you would advocate once we reached some kind of a transformation in this system."

Huey Newton

"Do you consider a..."

Jay

"Oh, come on Huey just answer the question you know don't ask me a question when I ask you a question."

Huey Newton

"I refuse to speak with you Comrade Brother."

Speaker

"Upon the grounds that it might in a sense incriminate you..."

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

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Huey Newton

"Your questions haven't been very profound so that I cannot deal with them and give you an intelligent answer but I refuse to let you..."

Speaker

"You refuse..."

Huey Newton

"Force me to do something that I don't want to do. A matter of fact is what the Black Panther Party teaches. No matter what we will maintain our dignity and we will choose the course. You see, in other words, we will not yield to the spear because men should never yield to the spear but make the spear yeild to them...."

Irv Kupcinet

"We're just engaging in conversation there's no spears here..."

Huey Newton

"That means that a...there are many here. But you don't understand the..."

Speaker

"Do you mind some questions of a of a somewhat personal nature Huey? If you do I won't ask them. I was curious about a couple of things I've read about your..."

Huey Newton

"I might answer and I might not,ask the question."

Speaker

"All right. I was curious about your bond money. I've read things..."

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

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Both Huey and Speaker talk at once.

Irv Kupcinet (interrupts)

"One at a time please."

Speaker

"Some reports say that a perhaps this is Panther money that was ear marked for other things for example your Breakfast Programs. It was used for your bond money."

Huey Newton

"I might answer that if you answer a question that we could consider personal. Where did the States Attorney get the money to hire Sullivan who costs so much. Does he use the taxpayers money? Its rumor Sullivan is one of the most highest paid attorneys in this state. He charges so much an hour and its rumor that the States Attorney, in defense of himself, because he has to ge before the Grand Jury is now hiring this man..."

Irv Kupcinet

"Well Marv can answer that he's in that area."

Marv

"I'm not aware of the Sullivan that they've hired. There are a lot of expensive Sullivan's in this town who are attorneys. I'm not too familiar with them..."

Irv Kupcinet

"I don't know any so I won't get involved in this..."

Huey Newton

"Well you you ought to investigate this attorney because the people want to know Sullivan. As you very

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

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well know I'm from out of state even though I'm concerned with the victims everywhere..."

Marv

"No, I honestly don't know the answer to your question Huey."

Huey Newton

"Well the question as far as my bail money was concerned is that I could give you an answer but I won't."

Irv Kupcinet

"And lets pause here for a moment for a message. You get an answer to this right after this message."

Commercial.

Irv Kupcinet

"Mr. Parker you represent or are a member of the Young Americans for Freedom in Washington, D.C., and Philadelphia?"

Mr. Parker

"That's correct, I'm Director of Community Affairs."

Irv Kupcinet

"The what?"

Mr. Parker

"I'm Director of Community Affairs for the National Organization."

Irv Kupcinet

"What has been your impression of the Black Panthers? You certainly have come in contact with them in Washington and Philadelphia."



HUEY PERCY NEWTON

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Mr. Parker

"I have not had any personal contact with them in Philadelphia or Washington, other than through the newspapers, radio or television, but my impression is not a good impression of them in terms of what I've been reading about their advocacy of changing the political and economic structure of our country."

Irv Kupcinet

"How do you feel about the violence which has been attributed to the Black Panthers and has been denied as you heard Huey deny today that they believe in this kind of violence?"

Mr. Parker

"A perhaps you'd better refresh my memory so we can deal with the specific piece of..."

Irv Kupcinet

"Well the big argument was quoted by their attorney in San Francisco who says something like 28 had been killed then he reduced it to 19 and then a man named Epstein wrote a story in New York in which he pointed out that only two really accused could be victims of murder (inaudible) two were in Chicago right here."

Huey Newton

"Kup may I escalate that to put this in true perspective. It was a mistake, a tragic mistake, I heard the Frost program where Honorable Attorney Charles Garry attempted to go through and justify or argue the 30 murder that the police have committed against the Panthers. I would like to escalate it so that the argument can be more lively that I charged genocide, number one that not 30 a black people killed but over 50 million, and this is according to a Bachelor Davidson."

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HUEY PERCY NEWTON

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Irv Kupcinet

"Whats that got to do with Panthers we're talking about the Black Panthers?"

Huey Newton

"The Black Panther Party are only the advocates of a black community and we're not important at all. The community is important and the reason we exist is because of the 50 million over 50 million that a..."

Irv Kupcinet

"You want to a stick to that statement that you're not important at all. Is that what you mean?"

Huey Newton

"Of course, we're willing to sacrifice ourselves on behalf of the people. That means individually we're not important, but our community is important."

Irv Kupcinet (interrupts)

"Your community is important, you individually not important? I thought that was your whole point that you as individuals are not important."

Speaker

"You're not important as an individual. I'm curious about this thing Huey."

Huey Newton

"Not when compared to the community. You're interested in the whole community. You have Breakfast programs for a community which I think are commendable. To feed the poor and the young is commendable no matter who does it. And you're interested in all these things..."

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

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Huey Newton

"That's a very..."

Speaker

"And your not important so I'm..."

Huey Newton

"Comments when you attempt to feed the people..."

Speaker

"What about your \$650 a month penthouse that you're living in right now in California?"

Huey Newton

"What about it?"

Speaker

"Well, it seems that's that's (inaudible) important yet you say you're not important."

Huey Newton

"I don't...I refuse to answer your question until you answer mine first."

Speaker

"Wouldn't it be more important to put that money in the community to the children who should be fed; to the poor who should be clothed."

Huey Newton

"I would think so..I would think so but the Central Committee of the Black Panther Party feels it necessary to protect beings from certain murders a..."

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HUEY PERCY NEWTON

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Speaker

"Well they feel that you and the party are more important than the people apparently."

Huey Newton

"And that Fred Hampton and Mark Clark suffer as far as my individual assessment of the situation. I think its too much for my own defense."

Speaker

"Then why do you keep it?"

Huey

"I must explain our structure then. I'm governed by a Central Committee. Our party is organized along the lines of democratic centralism....."

Speaker interrupts and talks at same time Huey does

"You're passing the same buck that you were accused of as passing the buck before...."

Huey

"I'm not passing any buck whatsoever for the simple reason that I take part in the Central Committee because I am a member. I'll stand by their decisions and defend them. Now my own personal assessment of my work I give you insofar as the strategy the Central Committee has used I think that it is good strategy to protect an individual.....I don't think I'm important enough for that...."

Speaker interrupts

"Let me ask you one question..does thea....."

ALL ARGUE TOGETHER



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HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Speaker

"Lets forget the \$650 lets assume that you have it...."

Huey

"Its really more than \$650 its its really something like \$750 I think or \$800....."

Speaker

"Whatever it is.....Where does the Central Committee which made this decision stand between you and Eldridge Cleaver?"

Huey

"Now wait I wanted to add something, what's even more than that...."

Speaker (interrupts)

"Will you get around to answering that question Huey."

Huey

"The Black Community and the Black Panther Party spent over \$300,000 to save me from the gas chamber. I don't think that they should have done that but....."

Speaker

"How did they save so much money when the court overturned that conviction of guilty?"

Huey

"I spent three years in the penitentiary as a, they overturned and after that...."

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HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Speaker (Irv)

"They couldn't have spent that kind of money... its impossible to spend that kind of money...."

Huey

"There was an intercommune you would say international campaign to a bring the people of the world's attention upon the murder that was about to take place in (inaudible) county. So it took much energy manpower but even more than that...."

Speaker

"I thought the California reviewing court reversed the decision....."

Another Speaker

"Yeah the court reversed it...."

Huey

"Pardon me?"

Speaker

"I thought the court reversed it....?"

Huey

"In other words you didn't know that I had attorneys to fight the case...."

Speaker

"Yeah, but you said \$300,000 thats preposterous....."

Huey

"I guess, its very expensive in such cases....."

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Kupcinet

"Let's forget that for a moment Huey. Let me go back to the Central Committee you said makes this important decision."

Huey

"Let's talk about a greater (inaudible) than \$750 lets talk about \$300,000."

Kupcinet

"Alright let's before we get there I'll come back to you in a moment. But you said the Central Committee made a decision that you should live there regardless of what the people...."

Huey

"Right, right...and I support that decision."

Kupcinet

"Where does that Central Committee which makes those decisions stand now in the battle between you and Eldridge Cleaver? Where is the Central Committee?"

Huey

"Oh they've decided that Eldridge Cleaver accepted the party."

Kupcinet

"Oh, he's out now?"

Huey

"The Central Committee decided that he...."

Kupcinet

"And you participated in that decision?"

Huey

"Of course."

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HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Kupcinet

"Did he participate in that decision in any way whatsoever?"

Huey

"Yes."

Kupcinet

"He did?"

Huey

"Yes".

Kupcinet

"And he is now out of the Black Panther Organization?"

Huey

"Yes he is."

Kupeinet

"Well that's a recent development then is it not?"

Huey

"Well, if you a watch our news organ you would see that its a little old, a couple of weeks..."

Kupcinet

"Well he said that he is organizing a group in New York to oppose your group in California the last I heard."

Huey

"Well you have to ask Eldridge Cleaver about that."

Kupcinet

"But there was a killing just a short time ago in

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HUEY PERCY NEWTON

New York."

Huey

"Was there?"

Kupc inet

"Which a Mr. Webb which figured in this division between you and Eldridge apparently."

Huey

"Who killed him?"

Irv

"I'm not gonna say who killed him I just said there was a killing which you're aware of I'm sure..."

Huey

"I heard about it a through the paper...."

Kupc inet

"So that there is a still is friction I presume between you....."

Huey

"Between who. Between you and Eldridge?"

Kupc inet

"Between you and Eldridge."

Huey-

"How's that. What is the relationship between a man being killed in New York and a dialectical argument between Eldridge and I."

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HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Kupcinet

"Because the Party, apparently the Black Panther Party, is split very divisively with Eldridge Cleaver having a New York segment and you have either the rest of the country or the west segment and this other killing resulted according to the newspapers as a result of this division between the two of you."

Huey

"Well as I said I believe very little what I read in the newspaper and I would suggest that you do the same because usually its not very accurate."

ALL ARGUE TOGETHER AGAIN

Speaker

"Now you know why I'm asking you questions while your sitting right here Huey."

Huey

"As far as my concerned, the Black Panther Party is not engaged in any warfare on any factional basis and we don't view the parties being split."

Kupcinet

"You don't."

Huey

"No."

Kupcinet

"And Cleaver is just out, thats that, the works."

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HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Huey

"That was the decision."

Kupcinet

"That's one thing you said that was definite now we got that much clear right? There's no question about Eldridge Cleaver?"

Huey

"Well I said...I said that at first he defected."

Speaker

"Are there any blacks Huey other than those in the Black Panthers whom you respect in terms of their commitment. I know you've characterized Jesse Jackson as peculiar and I think you said some unkind things about Stokely Carmichael, correct me if I'm wrong. Are there any other blacks outside of the Panther movement whose motives aren't suspect or that you feel are doing good for their people?"

Huey

"Well I respect thirty million black people and thats all...."

Speaker

"I'm talking about....I'm talking about....leadership...."

Huey

"So most of them are outside of the Black Panther Party as far as leadership. There's no leadership at this time because what the American fascist will do with a leader is to eliminate him and put him into prison."

Kupcinet

"Did you have any respect for a gentlemen like Whitney Young for instance, the late Whitney Young as a leader."

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Did you regard him as a leader?"

Huey

"In other words I'm saying that I respect black people generally and in the whole struggle for freedom we've used many approaches and we've had many contradictions and arguments with each other as far as a..."

Kupcinet

"That's understandable...."

Huey

"As far as attempting to arrive at a tactic that will give us our freedom I'm concerned that it's a worthless argument to talk about a contradiction with someone as far as the people I respect. I respect all of them.

Kupcinet

"Now Jesse Jackson, as he mentioned a few weeks ago, has called for a Third Party Huey to achieve some of the same objectives I'm sure you want to achieve. Could you support him in this effort? Do you see a third political party as a means in which you could operate?"

Huey

"Well first I would have to find out if the people would support that move because we are servants of the people and we would have to find out would they grasp this or have they been totally disillusioned."

Kupcinet

"Of course you have a committee which makes major decisions. By your own say so a few moments ago won't the Central Committee consider.... will they consider supporting Jesse Jackson?"

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Kupcinet

"Jay Parker."

Parker

"It appears Irv that Mr. Newton is talking in terms of a (inaudible) when he refers to the blacks and also the poor whites, now by definition he refers to poor whites, it seems as though we're talking about class. Now I wonder if he's talking in terms of all blacks also in other words individuals who are referred to as bourgeois blacks, those who a perhaps may be a half million dollars or something of that sort. I know it's a typical question simply because if we're talking in terms of a classless society ultimately we're talking in terms of equalitarianism. I think its visionary utopia and I simply don't see any grass roots grounds swollen on the basis of anything like this."

Kupcinet

"You say the blacks in other words..."

Parker and Irv Argue (inaudible)

Huey

"What I would say, first I would like to say that I would like to rally or encourage the black community to focus upon the trial of our chairman Bobby Seale and Ericka Huggins in New Haven, Connecticut, who are now standing trial for their lives and to come to their aid and do everything possible...."

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Speaker

"Like what ....?"

Huey

"In order to get them out of that oppressive situation, now secondly I would like to say as far as the party is concerned we are now emphasizing the need to create a comprehensive collection of institutions which again means community and we are doing this by erecting a program based upon survival. We see that the change is a need to come about. We know that there are a few people in this country, some experts say its about 76 companies, others say its about 20 according to the report on civil disorders of President Johnson. It was written a few years ago and it was stated then that approximately 76 corporations controlled the economy of the United States and no one could really compete with those corporations. They are monopolies and a they not only control the economy here but of the world. So we say that there needs to be some redistribution of wealth and power in this country and subsequently the world as far as a candidate is concerned. If the candidate is tied to supporting or dealing with these 76 companies without any transformation we say its lost already."

Kupcinet

"You're against the concentration of power aren't you?"

Huey

"Yes. I would like to have....."

Kupcinet

"Are you against the concentration of power by Mao in China who controls it all in his own hands?"

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Huey

"Well that's your analysis and I doubt if you're a scientist."

Kupcinet

"Well I think it's pretty well said that .....don't you agree that he does?"

Huey

"No I don't agree."

Kupcinet

"You don't?"

Huey

"No. A....:

Kupcinet

"You don't think he's a former dictator?"

Huey

"Was Chiang Kai Chek (PII), a dictator?"

Kupcinet

"Damn right he was."

Huey

Did America support Chiang Kai Chek?"

Kupcinet

"He did at one time, yes."

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Huey

"Do they support him now in Formosa?"

Kupcinet

"Only to our own advantage temporarily."

Huey

"Thats what you always do because youre an opportunist."

Kupcinet

"Whats the answer though..."

Huey

"You You You will support....."

ALL ARGUE

Kupcinet

"Do you want the concentration of power like Mao has?"

Huey

"Do you know what this man just said? He said that he will support any one if its to this country's advantage and what he really...."

Kupcinet

"Did I say that?"

Huey

"You said that you would....."

Kupcinet

"I said that the country is doing that, I didn't say I was doing that..."

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Huey

"You support the country don't you?"

Kupcinet

"I don't support that policy.... we have the right to differ you see we have dissent in this country, you have a right to express it as you have....."

Huey

"In other words maybe you're improving...."

ALL ARGUE

Kupcinet

"But you are against the concentration in this power of the country but you're not against the concentration of power in Red China. Why?"

Huey

"No. No I disagree that its concentrated number one..."

Kupcinet

"Well that ridiculous if you don't agree its concentrated thats against all the known....."

Huey

"Now Secondly....it's ridiculous that you would say it's ridiculous.

Kupcinet

"Its against all known history."

Huey

"No, it's not known to a...."

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Kupcinet

"You just want to change history to appease your own ends".

Huey

"Okay. I could tell you some people that will disagree. Would you like to hear?"

Speaker

"Is there a concentration of power in the Soviet Union?"

Huey

"Pardon me?"

Speaker

"Is there a concentration of power in the Soviet Union?"

Huey

"There might be".

Speaker

"What do you mean there might be? Yes or No?"

Kupcinet

"Why don't you want to admit these concentrations of power by the dictator?"

Huey

"The first thing is this... that first will you agree that there is a concentration of power in this country right?"

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Kupcinet

"I have to agree that they are getting more today sure"

Huey

"According to Felix Graham they get more so at some point there was some breakdown in the concentration of power. Maybe not as much as you would like but you have to agree the suffering was redistributed isn't that right."

Kupcinet

"Well maybe you got to agree that the concentration of power isn't always bad".

Huey

"No wait just one minute now..."

Speaker and Huey and Irv Argue (Inaudible)

Huey

"First you said that many many people, according to Felix Graham in Shanghai, before the revolution bodies were found every day from starvation. After Chiang Kai Shek was defeated there has been no starvation."

Kupcinet

"That's not the point your getting away from the point...my point... my point was that you disagree or that you don't want concentration of power here but your willing to accept it elsewhere because it's you're political process...."

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Huey Saying At Same Time Irv is Talking

"No, the point the point is...you asked me... oh you speaking absolutely...your speaking absolutely when I talk about process. I'm saying that what is happening there the people are gaining more power and to take note of what was before and now will show you that their position has improved. So in the process of revolution the process never stops as it stops then it becomes reactionary so the process of getting the people more and more freedom more and more power and more and more of the good life and the good life is....."

Kupcinet

"Well why don't you take recognition of the revolution going on in this country with the changes going on (inaudible) in this country?"

Huey

"No revolution can go in this country when it's the seat of reaction by a placing their troops their fleets at the shores of every country that opposes their reactionary way of government....."

Kupcinet

"That's a broad statement Huey that you know isn't true....."

Huey

"In other words what is the relationship between why the United States would go into Vietnam, stay so long and kill so many people in the name of peace. Why would they go into the Dominican Republic. A few years ago, why would they support the Greek regime that's fascist and everyone knows it. But they would do it simply to maintain power and to not let the process of revolution go on.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



HUEY PERCY NEWTON

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

So I'm saying that there's no absolute, no, there's no place in the world today where power has been disbursed to the point where there's absolutely no concentration. But when this happens they will reach a Utopia. I don't believe in Utopias so any country that we can imagine you will find some degree of concentration of power...but what we have..."

Kupcinet

"Let a Marvin get in a word will you Huey your...."

Huey

"But what we have to do is this. We would have to gauge and see if there's improvement and if there is improvement then is the process going on because once it stops then that government is reactionary."

All Argue (Inaudible)

Kupcinet

"Let Marvin get in a word."

Marvin

"I'm interested in of course what Huey has to say about China and Russia and Vietnam and all these things just as I'm interested in any one's views on it but I think he's avoided getting explicit. A...."

Huey

"He's (inaudible) refused to answer any questions."

Marvin

"Well let me finish Jay, for a minute. I think that you know there are a lot of things that the people who are listening to this program would like to know about the Black Panthers. You refuse to be explicit you've given us a lot of verbias when I've tried to pin you down you said something before..."

Huey

"Like what like how like who paid my bail...."

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Marv

"Let me try again. Let me try again Huey..... here's something their interested in Huey. You mentioned that the people listening should support Bobby Seale in his trial....Alright...."

Huey

"And also consider Fred Hampton and Mark Clark."

Marv

"Alright, be specific. What should the people do to support Bobby Seale. What are you asking the people to do?"

Huey

"A well in the first thing I don't I don't....."

Marv

"Because they might be confused as to what you're saying. They might know you really don't know what you want them to do."

Huey

"Alright, alright, I'll tell you. To see that justice is to be done and take note that 15 hundred jurors went through that courtroom and none of them qualified. In other words, to get 12 jurors it took 15 hundred, ask yourself the question why the American way is not for people to come into the court time after time and say in that city....."I'm so racist...."

Speaker

"Well what do you want the man on the street to do then?"

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Huey

"I'm so racist and so I cannot give any black a fair trial. Now what I'm saying the man on the street should first understand that the judicial system does not work for him that he should use whatever means that's efficient...."

Speaker

"What means? For example...."

Huey

"Necessary and sufficient....to make the transformation."

Speaker

"Give us an example...."

Kupcinet

"You're stuck on those words efficient and sufficient..."

Speaker

"Give us an example of some of those means..."

Huey

"It keeps us flexible. We don't telegraph (inaudible)."

Speaker

"Alright without (inaudible) give us an example of a method or a means of sufficient, efficient what's the other one? What's the liturgy? A efficient, sufficient and necessary..."

Huey

"And that depends very much upon the oppressor's action."

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HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Speaker

"Alright, well give me a..we know what the oppressor's action is according to you. Allegedly oppressor's action is trying Bobby Seale. Alright now what....."

Huey

"No, no no....the murder of Mark Clark and Fred Hampton that's the action."

Speaker

"I'm asking you about Bobby Seale. What can the person on the street do...."

Huey

"The killing of 50 million blacks..."

Speaker

"What can the person on the street do to support Bobby Seale? You've asked the people on the street to support Bobby Seale. "

Huey

"The support of the Greek Regime. That's the thing that the country is guilty of and those are the things I want to ...."

Kupcinet

"We've asked you a specific question about Bobby. Huey, you can answer that can't you?"

Huey

"What did he say..what did he say..we we were trying to harmonize I think..."

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Speaker

"No what I was saying...no what I was saying Huey is that you asked the people to support Bobby Seale by sufficient, efficient and necessary means. Well the average person listening to this program might not be sophisticated enough to come up with an example of a sufficient, efficient, and necessary means. What are some examples, give us seven or eight of them without telling us which one you're interested in..."

Huey

"Alright, alright..."

Speaker

"What are some means?"

Huey

"That's for the people to know and for you to find out."

MANY PEOPLE LAUGH

Speaker

"Well I played that game when I was five years old..."

Huey

"And you're only three now."

Kupcinet

"Is that the best answer you can give him though seriously without...."

Huey

"That's the only answer I will give...ask the people what they would do. They'll show you through action."

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Kupcinet

"What action what kind...what kind of action..."

Speaker

"What can we participate in."

Huey

"Consider the people, ask them."

Speaker

"Well ~~you're~~ part of the people, I'm asking you."

Huey

"No, but the people collectively will decide and they'll tell me what to do."

Speaker

"But the people individually make up their minds...."

Speaker

"Did the people tell you to appear on this program today?"

Huey

"Yes. I have a mandate from the people. Get on your phone and call them rapidly."

Kupcinet

"Did you want to say something, Jay?"

Jay

"Yeah. You know I get concerned about this this Newton talking."

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Speaker

"You're concerned, I'm confused."

Speaker

"Well being confused--well not confused but I'm just almost frustrated frankly...."

Huey

"You shouldn't be frustrated...(inaudible)"

Speaker

"Well just relax a second Huey...just relax for a second Huey..just relax a second. I'd just like to know where a persons headed thats all. There's no reason why anybody in this country...."

ALL ARGUE Three speakers talk at once (inaudible)

Kupcinet

"Hold it just a minute will you gentlemen oh Huey hold it a minute hold it Huey this doesn't make sense. One person at a time. Jay you had the floor...."

Jay

"You know I appeared on the program here in Chicago with some fellows from the American Nazi Party one time. They gave me the same rhetoric. They said once we transform society we perhaps, after I pinned them down, for saying that they may have to have a concentration of power for a period of time until they could straighten the system out. You know...I'm... it appears as though your saying the same thing if your not say so."

Huey

"I'm not."

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Jay

"Alright, I just want to know whats in store for me. That's all you know, in other words you think I'm gonna sit here and listen to this rhetoric and listen to emptiness. I don't see how you could recruit anybody like that...."

Huey

"Well the first thing I'm not here to recruit you..."

Jay

"Well not me. But you have an audience out here you have an audience out here your talking to its television Huey...."

Huey saying at same time Jay is speaking

"The people appreciate what I'm saying. If the people don't appreciate it then they will discipline me not you."

Speaker

"I'm not disciplining you."

Huey and Speaker Argue

Speaker

"How would they discipline you?"

Huey

"Pardon me?"

Speaker

"How would they discipline you if they disagree with what you're saying?"

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Huey

"They would criticize me."

Speaker

"I don't consider you beyond redemption Huey but I'm not going to sit here and discipline you or criticize you in the sense that lets try and make you say something that you don't want to say, I mean you're a free man and..."

Huey

"No. I'm not free. But you have illusion of freedom and that's just the point..."

Speaker

"Well, you're free in the context of this program to say what you want just like the four of us, you know."

Huey

"Well actually...."

Speaker

"No, he's not free cause he speaks on the consensus of his people apparently."

Speaker

"Oh, I see".

Speaker

"I mean."

Huey

"And you're not free because you have to obey the reactionary laws of this country."

Speaker

"Are you really saying that you're saying or do you have a tape recording. Are you really saying what you're saying or are you pushing a tape recorder button?"

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Huey

"I don't understand your language."

Speaker

"Well obviously not. I questioned your comprehension a little earlier."

Huey

"Alright. You know what? The thing is that your problem is this, number 1 that your program is to support a thing (inaudible)."

Speaker

"You better watch it or you'll be guilty of practicing medicine without a license."

Huey

"Yeah, alright."

Speaker

"Okay."

Huey

"I'm a witch doctor and also say that you have been civilized by white Christianity western....therefore, the only thing that we could do with you is to deliver you to the people so that they will then rid you.... (inaudible) cause of the problem."

Speaker

"Number one, you don't know if I adhere to Christianity or not do you?"

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Speaker

"How would the people rid themselves of people like Mr. Parker? I mean what do you suggest they do. I mean you use the word that people are going to rid you...."

Huey

"You know you're a very nosy man. You always want to know the opinions of the people."

Speaker

"I think that's human nature believe it or not."

Kupcinet

"Huey, let me ask you a quick question. Now theres been some talk about the possibility of forming a Black Nation within the colony where blacks would have their own nation within the United States. Do the Black Panthers visualize such a thing?"

Huey

"The first thing is that Nation has been negated through the reality or by the reality of the empire. In other words nations could not exist along side a modern empire because the very definition of the empire, the modern one, is that it controls all other countries either in a direct or indirect way so the countries of the world have now been transformed in oppressed communities. That's why we see a oneness with all of the people in the world because 76 companies not only control all of the communities here, they also control all of those first communities that use to be called nations. Their economy, their culture, and corporal institution so controlled until the United States is the decider. So first I would like to say this. That's not realistic to talk about

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

nationhood at this time.. All we can talk about is self-determination for the community. The dispersed communities of the world. Whether they be black, Chinese, Mexican, or a poor white or Vietnamese, we want the people to have the power, and to be free to decide what means and what tactics they will use. The only definition I could give would be somewhat arrogant. If I would outline it for them I'm sure it would mean they would do what is efficient and necessary in order to cause the kind of (inaudible) they want. As far as this man's concerned that a....."

Kupcinet

" Which man?"

Huey

"Well this man..."

Kupcinet

"Mr. Marvin Aspen and Mr. Jay Parker."

Huey

"And as far as this man is concerned and this man....."

Speaker

"Do you remember my name Huey?"

Huey

"I don't take them seriously."

Speaker

"Do you remember my name Huey?"

Huey

"Because a....pardon me?"

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Speaker

"Do you remember my name?"

Huey

"To me your name is...."

ALL ARGUE

Speaker

"Irv introduced me. You know I remember your name you know I give you credit for having that much intelligence can you remember me?"

Huey

"Well I thank you for letting me make an impression upon you but I'll tell you, you are a blank. So you can't require....."

Speaker

"You didn't impress me at all. As a matter of fact, I think I had a little higher regard for you before I met you....and had a conversation with you...."

Huey

"Okay....I appreciate that because any time that you respect me then I will feel very bad."

Kupcinet

"I'm sorry we have to end now on such a sour note but our time has run out we must say goodbye to Huey Newton the Minister of Defense for the Black Panther Party. The man who believes in efficient, sufficient and all necessary means and this is Marvin Aspen, the Legal Advisor for the Cook County Sheriff and co-author of a book called, "Criminal Law for the Layman" and this is Mr. J. A. Parker, the leading spokesman for the Young American for Freedom. We will pause here for a message and we shall be back with other guests in a few seconds."

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Huey

"Alright, thank you."

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAY 10 1971  
JXS

TELETYPE

b6  
b7C

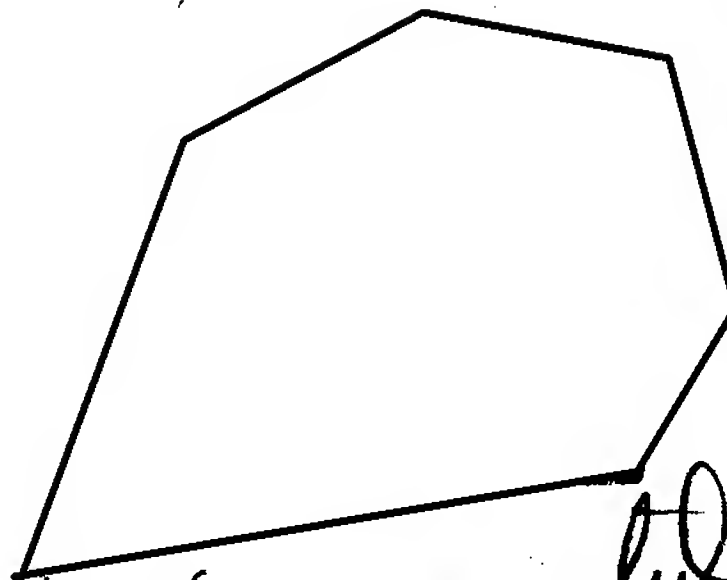
Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Brennan	CD _____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Dalbey	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Walters	_____
Mr. Soyars	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

NR 006 SF PLAINTEXT

5:27PM NITEL 5/10/71 JAK

TO DIRECTOR (105-165429)

FROM SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203) 1P



*(see corrected copy)*

HUEY PERCY NEWTON, AKA, RM-BPP; TREASON (KBE).

NEWTON APPEARED IN ALAMEDA COUNTY SUPERIOR COURT, DEPT.,  
FIVE, OAKLAND, CALIF., BEFORE JUDGE HAROLD HOVE ON MORNING  
MAY TEN INSTANT, AT WHICH TIME JUDGE HOVE SET DATE FOR RETRIAL  
AS MAY TWENTYSIX NEXT. JUDGE HOVE STATED THAT NOTHING IS GOING  
TO INTERFER WITH NEWTON'S CASE <sup>coming</sup> TO TRIAL AS SOON AS THE  
BOBBY SEALE CASE IS COMPLETED IN NEW HAVEN, CONN.  
END...

1cc 806

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 6-26-87 BY SP5CJ/pt

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAY 10 1971

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Brennan	CD
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Dalbey	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Walters	_____
Mr. Soyars	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

b6  
b7c

NR 006 SF PLAINTEXT

8:06PM NITEL 5/10/71 JAK

TO DIRECTOR (105-165429)  
FROM SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203) 1P

HUEY PERCY NEWTON, AKA, RM-BPP; TREASON (KBE).

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TO INTERFER WITH NEWTON'S CASE COMING TO TRIAL AS SOON AS THE  
BOBBY SEALE CASE IS COMPLETED IN NEW HAVEN, CONN, IN AS MUCH  
AS SEALE'S ATTORNEY, CHARLES R. GARRY IS ALSO NEWTON'S ATTORNEY.  
END...

KPT FBI WASH

CLR

EX-103

REC-39

105-165429-425

MAY 13 1971

51 MAY 24 1971



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAY 15 1971

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Sullivan\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Bishop\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. BrennanCDL\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Casper\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Dalbey\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Felt\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gale\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Walters\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Soyars\_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room\_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes\_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy\_\_\_\_\_

NR 003 SF CODED

6:03PM NITEL 5/15/71 CRH

TO: DIRECTOR (105-165429)

NEW HAVEN

NEW YORK

FROM: SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 2-6-87 BY SP8e  
LPT

HUEY P. NEWTON RM DASH BPP (KEY BLACK EXTREMIST)

OO: SAN FRANCISCO.

SOURCE REPORTED NEWTON RETURNED TO HIS APARTMENT IN  
OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA FROM SANTA CRUZ, CALIFORNIA EARLY  
AFTERNOON OF MAY FIFTEEN, INSTANT. SECOND SOURCE REPORTED  
THIS DATE NEWTON MAY GO TO NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT EARLY  
MORNING MAY SEVENTEEN, NEXT TO ATTEND FINAL SESSION OF  
BOBBY SEALE TRIAL AS NEWTON ANTICIPATES VERDICT IN THAT  
CASE WILL PROBABABLY BE REACHED MAY EIGHTEEN, NEXT.

ADMINISTRATIVE

EX-100

RE SAN FRANCISCO TELETYPE DATED MAY FOURTEEN, LAST.

FIRST SOURCE IS

SECOND

b2

SOURCE IS

REC 12

NEWTON'S ACTIVITIES WILL BE FOLLOWED AND APPROPRIATE

OFFICES ADVISED OF HIS TRAVEL.

END

KPT-FBI WASH

MAY 19 1971

62 MAY 20 1971

F247

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAY 6 1971

TELETYPE

NR 004 SF CODE

11:59 PM NITEL 5/5/71 MCC

DIRECTOR ATTN. D I D

LOS ANGELES

FROM SAN FRANCISCO (157-0-3673) (157-1203)

IP

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 6-26-87 BY SP5CPT

Original Handled

Mr. Bell  
Mr. Callahan  
Mr. Conrad  
Mr. Felt  
Mr. Gale  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Sullivan  
Mr. Tavel  
Mr. Walters  
Tele. Room  
Miss Holmes  
Miss Gandy

b6  
b7C

BLACK STUDENT UNION (BSU) - UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, IRVINE,  
CALIFORNIA, RM. HUEY PERCY NEWTON, AKA, RM - BPP (KBE).

RELIABLE SOURCE ADVISED MAY THREE LAST, THAT ARRANGEMENTS  
HAD BEEN FINALIZED FOR AN APPEARANCE BY HUEY NEWTON, BPP SUPREME  
COMMANDER, AT UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, IRVINE, FOR MAY ELEVEN  
NEXT.

NEWTON IS TO SPEAK IN CONNECTION WITH BLACK CULTURAL WEEK  
ACTIVITIES BEING HELD AT THIS SCHOOL DURING THE PERIOD MAY NINE  
THROUGH SIXTEEN NEXT. NEWTON IS TO RECEIVE A FIFTEEN HUNDRED  
DOLLAR FEE FOR THIS APPEARANCE.

ADMINISTRATIVE

SOURCE IS

RESFAIRTEL APRIL FOURTEEN LAST.

LOS ANGELES ARRANGE COVERAGE OF NEWTON'S SPEECH.

SAN FRANCISCO WILL ADVISE TRAVEL DATA WHEN OBTAINED.

END

HOLD

ROOM 724 9&D

61 MAY 19 1971

b6  
b7C

NOT RECORDED

185 MAY 17 1971

MAY 13 1971

ORIGINAL FILED IN 107-1

b2  
b6  
b7C

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO :

DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165429)

DATE: 5/17/71

FROM :

SAC, MIAMI (157-3874) (RUC)

SUBJECT:

HUEY PERCY NEWTON, aka  
RM - BPP  
(TREASON (KEY BLACK EXTREMIST)  
(OO: SAN FRANCISCO)

Re Cleveland airtel and LHM 4/16/71; San Francisco tel to Bureau 3/30/71.

[redacted] identified [redacted] black students at the University of Miami, Coral Gables, Florida. This source also reported that the black students at the University of Miami sponsored a black cultural week on that campus from April 25 to May 1, 1971. Black students in an effort to attract speakers to the campus during that period were making contact with various "black leaders" throughout the United States. He said they were successful in arranging for the appearance of CHARLES G. HURST, Jr., President of Malcolm X University, Chicago, Illinois, on the evening of 4/27/71.

[redacted] and [redacted] advised that HUEY NEWTON has not appeared on the campus of the University of Miami and both advised that they did not know of any plans for NEWTON or any other black extremist to visit that campus or the Miami, Florida, area.

- ② - Bureau (RM)
- 2 - San Francisco (157-1203) (RM)
- 2 - Miami
- (1 - 157-3874)

JCM:ajv  
(6)

1 cc 806

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 6/10/85 BY SP4 [signature]

SP5 [signature] 6-26-87

17 MAY 19 1971

RACIAL INT. SEC. NO INTEREST



54 MAY 26 1971

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan





Department of State

TELEGRAM

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE 869

PAGE 01 STATE 079160

17  
ORIGIN E-15

INFO OCT-01 AF-12 CAB-09 CIAE-00 COM-08 DODE-00 INR-08

NSAE-00 RSC-01 FAA-00 LE-04 RL-03 PRS-01 USIA-12 ARA-12

DOT-00 SY-03 USSS-00 IO-16 FBI-01 JUS-02 /108 R

66663

DRAFTED BY: E/OA/AVP

APPROVED BY: E/OA/AVP

FAA -

(INFO)

AF/N

(BY PHONE)

R 070012Z MAY 71  
FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO USINT ALGIERS

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE STATE 079160

CIVAIR: BILATERAL EXCHANGE OF AIR SECURITY INFORMATION - FAA  
INTELLIGENCE BULLETIN NO. 10-71

FAA PASSED FOLLOWING MESSAGE MAY 4 TO AIR TRANSPORT ASSOCIATION (ATA) FOR AMERICAN AIR CARRIERS: QUOTE - A RELIABLE SOURCE REPORTS A NUMBER OF RUMORS INDICATING A GROUP OF BLACK PANTHERS WILL ATTEMPT TO TRAVEL FROM THE US VIA CUBA TO ALGERIA IN THE NEAR FUTURE. ALLEGEDLY, THE BLACK PANTHERS PLAN TO HIJACK COMMERCIAL AIRLINERS TO GO TO CUBA. IT IS SAID THAT FLIGHTS FROM SAN FRANCISCO TO CHICAGO, MIAMI AND SAN JUAN ARE ROUTES TO BE ESPECIALLY JEOPARDIZED. FAA COMMENTS: ALTHOUGH THESE RUMORS ARE UNCONFIRMED OR UNVERIFIED, THEY CANNOT BE IGNORED AND GROUND SECURITY PERSONNEL MUST MAINTAIN STRICT VIGILANCE IN APPLYING THE NECESSARY SECURITY MEASURES. TROUBLE APPEARS TO BE BREAKING IN THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY AND IT IS QUITE POSSIBLE THAT THE BLACK PANTHERS ARE HAVING AN INTERNAL FRICTION PROBLEM WHICH COULD DEVELOPE INTO TWO FACTIONS. "THE BLACK PANTHER" (PARTY'S OFFICIAL NEWSPAPER) HAS VILIFIED AND ATTEMPTED TO DISCREDIT AND RIDICULE ELDRIDGE CLEAVER IN SEVERAL ARTICLES, PROBABLY TO

56 MAY 26 1971

MAY 27 1971

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

105-165706-470  
ORIGINAL FILED IN

b6  
b7C

NOT RECORDED  
11 MAY 7 1971





Department of State

TELEGRAM

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 02 STATE 079160

PREPARE THEIR READERS FOR CLEAVER'S EXPULSION PRIOR TO AN  
OFFICIAL ANNOUNCEMENT. IF CLEAVER IS EXPELLED, IT COULD MEAN  
ALL-OUT WAR BETWEEN THE HUEY NEWTON AND THE ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
FACTIONS AND CHAOS WOULD REIGN IN THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY.  
AS A RESULT KIDNAPPING, KILLINGS, AND HIJACKINGS COULD BE THE  
ORDER OF THE DAY. - UNQUOTE. [REDACTED]

b6  
b7C

12  
7  
MAY

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAY 14 1971

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Sullivan\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Bishop\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Brennan\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Casper\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Dalbey\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Felt\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gale\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Walters\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Soyars\_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room\_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes\_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy\_\_\_\_\_

NR 002 SF CODE

3:40 PM URGENT 5-14-71 DEP

TO DIRECTOR (105-165706) ATTN. D I D

LOS ANGELES

FROM SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 6-26-87 BY SP-1

HUEY PERCY NEWTON, AKA., RM - BPP (KBE).

ON MORNING OF MAY FOURTEEN INSTANT, BPP SUPREME COMMANDER  
HUEY P. NEWTON TRAVELED FROM OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA, TO RESIDENCE  
OF [REDACTED]

CALIFORNIA, BY AUTOMOBILE. NEWTON ACCOMPANIED BY JOHN SEALE,  
OAKLAND BPP MEMBER WHO IS NEWTON'S CHAUFFEUR AND BODYGUARD.

[REDACTED] ANNOUNCEMENT AT UCSC THAT AT ELEVEN A.M..

MAY FOURTEEN INSTANT, NEWTON WILL MAKE TELEVISION TAPE USING

END PAGE ONE

REC- 68

105-165429-428

17 MAY 20 1971

F244

PAGE TWO

FACILITIES OF THE INSTRUCTIONAL SERVICES DEPARTMENT IN THE  
COMMUNICATIONS BUILDING AT THE UNIVERSITY.

INFORMATION HAS ALSO BEEN RECEIVED BY THE SHERIFF'S OFFICE  
IN SANTA CRUZ THAT NEWTON WILL SPEAK TO BLACK STUDENTS  
ATTENDING THE UCSC [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

A SOURCE REPORTED MAY THIRTEEN LAST, THAT [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b6  
b7C  
b7D

ADMINISTRATIVE:

SOURCE IS [REDACTED]

LOS ANGELES CONTACT APPROPRIATE SOURCES FOR ANY INFORMATION  
CONCERNING TRAVEL OF [REDACTED] TO SANTA CRUZ.

b2  
b6  
b7C

ACTIVITIES OF NEWTON AT SANTA CRUZ WILL BE FOLLOWED

END

DEB W DC FBI

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAY 15 1971

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Sullivan\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Bishop\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. BrennanCD\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Casper\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Dalbey\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Felt\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gale\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Walters\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Soyars\_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room\_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes\_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy\_\_\_\_\_

NR017 NY CODE

121PM URGENT 5-15-71 RVD

TO DIRECTOR

ATT DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

SAN FRANCISCO

FROM NEW YORK 157-2702 (P)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10-29-80 BY SP3 DB/KJ  
6-28-87 SP5 CJA

HUEY P. NEWTON, RACIAL MATTERS-BPP; KPE

HUEY P. NEWTON APPEARED ON THE DAVID FROST TV SHOW  
DURING THE EVENING OF MAY FOURTEEN, SEVENTY ONE. NEWTON'S  
APPEARANCE LASTED FOURTY FIVE MINUTES DURING WHICH TIME, HE  
DISCLOSED HIS PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY. HE NOTED THAT ALL EVENTS  
OCCUR IN A HISTORICAL CONTEXT SO THAT THE AIMS AND METHODS OF  
ACCOMPLISHING GOALS MUST BE COMPATIBLE WITH THE PREVAILING  
SITUATION AND INSTITUTIONS IN SOCIETY.

NEWTON DECLARED HE WAS A DISCIPLE OF NON-VIOLENCE AND THAT HE  
AND THE BPP WAS FOR WORLD DISARMAMENT. THE BPP DOES NOT PLOT  
PER SE AGAINST THE ESTABLISHMET, BUT SUCH PLOTTING IF IT OCCURS,  
ARISES OUT OF THE EXPERIENCE OF THE BLACK COMMUNITY.

END PAGE ONE

REC-52

EX-104

16 MAY 20 1971

F244



PAGE TWO

HE NOTED THAT THE UNITED STATES IS THE WORST OFFENDER AGAINST  
WORLD PEACE.

NEWTON OBSERVED THAT HE RARELY USE THE TERM PIG AND INDICATED  
~~HE STATED~~ THAT IT WAS MERELY A RHETORICAL PHRASE UTILIZED BY  
THE PARTY TO HEIGHTEN THE AWARENESS OF THE BLACK COMMUNITY. HE  
ALSO OBSERVED THAT HE WOULD NOT EXCLUDE THE POSSIBILITY THAT THE  
POLICE WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE RECENT MURDER OF SAM NAPIER  
IN NEW YORK.

NEWTON ALSO REVEALED THAT HE IS NO LONGER SUPREME COMMANDER  
OF THE BPP, BUT IS NOW KNOWN AS THE DEFENSE MINISTER AND  
SERVANT TO THE PEOPLE.

A D M I N I S T R A T I V E

NEW YORK TAPED NEWTON'S APPEARANCE.

LHM TO FOLLOW.

END

~~HOLD FOR ONE MORE~~

F B I

Date: 5/25/71

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL  
(Priority)

TO DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165429)

FROM SAC, SPRINGFIELD (157-2431)

RE: HUEY PERCY NEWTON  
Aka  
RM - BPP (KBE)

OO:San Francisco

Re: Springfield airtel, 5/21/71, captioned "SECOND ANNUAL  
NATIONAL SURVIVAL DAY, 6/19/71, Cairo, Illinois, RM"  
SI File 157-2820

In view of Bureau instructions regarding Key Black Extremist Program, and information contained in reairtel indicating HUEY P. NEWTON may travel to Cairo for the 6/19/71 activity, San Francisco should immediately alert sources and informants acquainted with activities of NEWTON. Furnish Springfield specific information regarding travel at the earliest possible date so that arrangements may be made to cover NEWTON's activities in compliance with KBE Program.

Springfield, at Cairo, Illinois, is maintaining contact with sources in a position to furnish additional information concerning the 6/19/71 event, and Bureau and interested offices will be advised.

- ② Bureau (105-165429) (RM)  
2: San Francisco (157-1203) (RM)  
3: Springfield (157-2431)  
(1: 157-2820)

DTS:vr  
(7)

EX-101

REC 44/05-165429-430

5 MAY 27 1971

RACIAL INT. SECT.

b6  
b7C

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

56 JUN - 7 1971 Special Agent in Charge

F B I

Date: 5/21/71

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via A I R T E LA I R M A I L

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165429)

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203)

HUEY PERCY NEWTON, aka  
RM - BPP (KBE)ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 6-26-87 BY SP4 [signature]b6  
b7C

Enclosed for the Bureau are eight (8) copies of an LHM setting forth remarks made by NEWTON on 5/19/71.

The enclosed LHM is classified ~~Confidential~~ to conceal identities of the sources, disclosure of which could reflect adversely on the national defense.

First source is SF [redacted]

b2  
b7D

Second source is SF [redacted]

The Bureau will note that remarks by NEWTON continue to reflect the direction of the BPP has recently taken in order to gain the support of the black people in the communities.

- 3-destroyed CH
- 2 - Bureau (Encls. 8) (RM)  
3 - San Francisco  
1 - 157-1203 /cc [signature]

JLC/jr  
(5)copies to ISO, SS  
5/28/71  
JLA/jrb2  
b6  
b7C  
b7D

REC 44

105-165429-431

5 MAY 26 1971

REC'D AT. SECT.

54 JUN 4 1971

Approved: [signature]

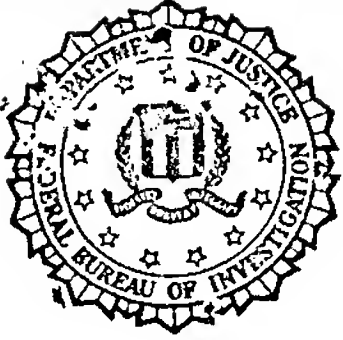
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

M

Per \_\_\_\_\_





UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

San Francisco, California

May 21, 1971

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

DECLASSIFIED BY SP 56  
ON 6-26-81

On May 18, 1971, a source made available a program for The Third Annual Martin Luther King, Jr., Lectures, May 18, 19 and 20, 1971, presented by The Center For Urban-Black Theological Studies, Berkeley, California.

According to the program the Martin Luther King, Jr., Lectures commemorate the significance of the life, teaching, and death of Dr. King for our national community. The Center offers tribute to him and to those who have spent their lives in the struggle to create a new humanity. The Lectures offer the theological community the opportunity to hear and experience the genius and depth of the spiritual and religious life of the Black community. The Lectures also bring together west coast Black clergy to share and analyze their respective work.

The program also sets forth information that the lectures are being held in conjunction with The Black Odyssey Festival. The Second Annual Black Odyssey Festival celebrates a wide spectrum of the Black community's cultural life. The Festival involves the resources of community as it celebrates the life of a people in coordination with the Berkeley School District, the Berkeley Public Library, and local churches.

The program shows that on Wednesday, May 19, 1971, at 11:00 AM, Huey P. Newton, Minister of Defense of the Black Panther Party (BPP), Oakland, California, will speak on

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~Group 1~~

Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and declassification

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

431



~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

"New Directions for the Black Panther Party, A Survival Program"

The BPP is a black extremist organization started in Oakland, California, in December, 1966. It advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics to bring about the overthrow of the United States Government.

A second source advised that Newton spoke at the above mentioned series as scheduled. According to this source, Newton stated in part as follows:

There has been a change in the thinking of the BPP. BPP members are going to begin attending church and get involved in the church. The BPP wants and needs the support of the black community.

The BPP was formed to oppose evils in the society. The BPP thought itself as the vanguard of a people who wanted things changed. However, the BPP found it was not the vanguard for anything and because of its actions the BPP lost the favor of the black community and left the people behind.

The BPP thought it could change things without the people themselves changing them but it was wrong. He said he was not calling the things done by the BPP mistakes but preferred to refer to them as phases of development the BPP has gone through.

The Panthers will now involve themselves in anything or any stage of a developing change in the community. The BPP will support it and try to introduce some insight into it. The BPP will continue to criticize the system and will operate with the system so it can change it.

In the past the BPP has criticized the church by saying it was only spiritual and not relevant and we were not going to have anything to do with it. In the future the only

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

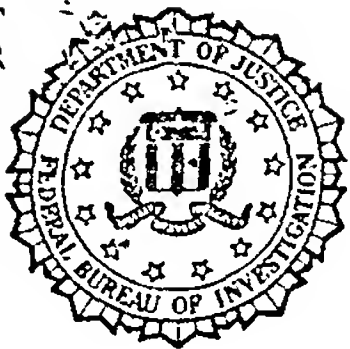
time the BPP will criticize the church is when it does not act upon the evils we feel cause black men to be driven to their knees.

The BPP plans to open clothing and shoe factories in the Berkeley-Oakland area with the intention to give away the products.

Newton also stated he was the son of a minister and went to church for the first fifteen years of his life.

Approximately 200 persons attended the speech by Newton, most of whom were neatly dressed and appeared to be church-going people.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

*In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.*

San Francisco, California

May 21, 1971

Title            HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Reference       Memorandum dated and captioned  
                 as above at San Francisco,  
                 California.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities  
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable  
information in the past.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. C. D. Brennan

FROM :

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)  
RACIAL MATTERS

1 - Mr. W. Sullivan  
1 - Mr. J. R. Mohr  
1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan

DATE: 5/17/71

1 - Mr. T. E. Bishop

b6  
b7C

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
C.D. \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Dalbey \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
Soyars \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 6-26-87 BY SP5 w/tpt

The purpose of this memorandum is to advise of the appearance of BPP Supreme Commander Huey P. Newton on the David Frost television program 5/14/71.

The 90-minute program consisted of a 30-minute interview of Dr. John Morsell, Assistant Executive Director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and a 60-minute interview of Newton. Morsell, who made a dignified appearance, did not make an issue of criticizing the BPP but made it clear he did not fully approve of them. He said the BPP has created a new awareness of the problems of the Negro race and has provided a rallying symbol for young Negroes, but he referred to their "peculiar half-baked Marxist philosophy" and indicated that the NAACP does not consider the Negro race a "colonized people."

Our special coverage of Newton's plush apartment previously determined that Frost wanted Newton and Morsell to appear together representing views of violence and non-violence. Newton, however, refused to appear with anyone and threatened to walk off the show unless he appeared alone. Newton had previously stated that BPP attorney Charles R. Garry, who appeared on the Frost show several weeks ago, made a fool of himself, did the BPP a disservice and he (Newton) would make up for Garry's mistakes. Newton vowed he would not debate with anyone nor get involved in controversial issues.

Newton certainly kept his vow. He managed to evade every question asked by Frost by launching into a harangue that led him far from the intended subject matter. Newton did not mention the FBI, and the only accusation he directed

105-165706

RNB:dr1 (9)

CONTINUED - OVER

NOT RECORDED 1971

170 MAY 25 1971

57 JUN 1 1971

ORIGINAL FILED IN 105-165706-4



Memorandum to Mr. C. D. Brennan  
Re: Black Panther Party (BPP)  
105-165706

toward law enforcement was that Samuel Lee Napier, BPP Circulation Manager, was murdered by "police" in New York City on 4/17/71. (Actually, there is every indication that Napier was killed as a result of internal BPP factionalism.) Newton characterized the BPP as the servant of the people. He insisted the BPP is nonviolent and advocates only self-defense.

Frost attempted to draw Newton into a discussion about the previous allegation by the BPP that 28 Panthers have been killed by police. Newton refused to discuss it by talking around it as he did every controversial topic raised by Frost. All of Newton's remarks were clearly intended to promulgate the new BPP line emphasizing its service to the community and deemphasizing violence.

ACTION:

For information.

RMB

A

ozawa  
B

✓  
WEL

WBS

~~SECRET~~

# SUPPLEMENTAL CORRELATION SUMMARY

(See Correlation Summary dated 5/29/69 filed as 105-165429-31)

Main File No: 105-165429

Date: 5/28/71

Subject: Huey Percy Newton

Date Searched: 9/23/70

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

All logical variations of subject's name and aliases were searched and identical references were found as:

Classified by ~~SP-5~~  
Declassify on: OADR

## SUMMARY

Newton, Huey Percy  
Newton, One  
Newton, H.  
Newton, Heuy  
Newton, Hewey  
Newton, Hue P.  
Newton, Huey

Newton, Huey P.  
Newton, Huey S.  
Newton, Huey T.  
Newton, Hugh Percy  
Newton, Hughie  
Newton, Hughie P.

This is a summary of information obtained from a review of all "see" references to the subject in Bureau files under the names and aliases listed above. All references under the above names containing data identical with the subject have been included except any indicated at the end of this summary under the heading REFERENCES NOT INCLUDED IN THIS SUMMARY. References indicated in the block as SI contain the same information as the foregoing serial although the information may have been received from a different source.

THIS SUMMARY HAS BEEN PREPARED FOR USE AT THE SEAT OF GOVERNMENT AND IS NOT SUITABLE FOR DISSEMINATION. IT IS DESIGNED TO FURNISH A SYNOPSIS OF THE INFORMATION SET OUT IN EACH REFERENCE, AND IN MANY CASES THE ORIGINAL SERIAL WILL CONTAIN THE INFORMATION IN MORE DETAIL.

Analyst

Coordinator

Approved

CLF:abs

10-28-71  
CLASSIFIED BY 9803-RDD/BCE/SM  
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 1.6  
#365,833

REC

105-165429-432

ENCLOSURE

ENCLOSURE BEHIND FILE-SEARCH SLIPS ONLY

60 AUG 4 1971

3 JUN 3 1971

CONSOLIDATION

b6  
b7C

# ABBREVIATIONS

~~SECRET~~

Add. info.....Additional information appearing in this reference which pertains to Huey Percy Newton can be found in the main file or elsewhere in this summary. This information may have been received from a different source.

BPP.....Black Panther Party

SDS.....Students For A Democratic Society

\*\*\*\*\*

The following references in the main files of the individuals listed below indicated that they visited Huey Percy Newton at the Alameda County Jail in Oakland, California. Newton, BPP co-founder and Minister of Defense, was in jail awaiting trial on charges of murdering an Oakland police officer.

INDIVIDUAL	b6 b7C	DATE OR PERIOD OF VISIT	REFERENCE & SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER
			157-11159-3 ep.1,4 (19)
			157-12001-1 ep.1 (18)
			157-18404-1 ep.1,4 (18)
			44-42385-5 ep.2,3 (9)

(continued)

~~SECRET~~

(continued)

INDIVIDUAL	b6 b7C	DATE OR PERIOD OF VISIT	REFERENCE & SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER
			100-442464-31 ep.3,7 (2,19)
			140-37650-5 p.1,4,15 (7,16)
			157-11310-3 ep.2-4 (17)

[redacted] advised that [redacted]  
[redacted] was requested by Huey Newton, national officer, BPP, to  
come to Oakland, Calif., and bring with him all the funds from the  
Seattle, Wash., Chapter, BPP. Source further advised [redacted] left  
Seattle on 7/20/68 for Oakland by air and reportedly carried a gun with  
him on this trip.

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[redacted]  
(3)

[redacted] advised that subsequent to 8/15/68, [redacted]  
[redacted] Okinawa to participate in  
demonstrations there sponsored by the Gensuikin-Zengakurer Conference,  
an international conference sponsored by a group of revolutionary  
Japanese students held in the principal cities of Japan from 8/2/68 -  
8/12/68. Source further advised that the purpose of [redacted] trip was  
to internationalize Huey Newton, the BPP leader charged with murder in  
Oakland, Calif.

b2  
b6  
b7C  
b7D

[redacted]  
(7)

~~SECRET~~



~~SECRET~~

The "Daily Gater", student newspaper published by the Associated Students of San Francisco State College (SFSC), San Francisco, Calif., in its 9/25/68 issue, published an article entitled "BSU States Its Philosophy, Goals and Achievements". This article in part stated "We went to talk to Huey Newton about a month ago and he asked about the Black Students Program and said he would like to enter SFSC when he gets out. We discussed some of the methods of implementing the BSU".

This serial indicated that BSU was the Black Student Union, a black nationalist organization that had engaged in acts of violence in the past.

Add. info.

157-8272-163 ep.10  
(8,17)

[redacted]  
[redacted] Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) (100-439190)  
[redacted]

b2  
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[redacted] SNCC's analysis of the BPP and Huey Newton. [redacted] indicated the following: SNCC would support Newton's fight; Newton should be seen not only as a Black Panther but as a revolutionary hero for all black people to imitate; in order to maintain open communication between the Panthers and SNCC, informal meetings should be encouraged among individuals in the two groups.

100-439190-33-48 ep.10A  
(2)

[redacted] (protect identity), advised on 11/18/68 that [redacted] continued to hear rumors that Huey Newton and other BPP members may come to KSU to support the Black United Students' (BUS) (157-11999) demands. These demands included amnesty for nine BUS members charged with organizing a demonstration to protest the recruitment activities of the Oakland, California Police Department on the KSU campus.

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157-11999-6 ep.2,7  
(8)

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b1

157-8415-243-46 ep.6  
(21)

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[redacted] (protect identity) advised during January, 1969 that he had received certain literature by mail from Radio Havana, Cuba. Included in this material was a booklet containing articles dealing with the revolutionary struggles of various peoples around the world, glorifying the Communist revolution and guerrilla movements. One article, entitled "Black Power and the Revolutionary Struggle", was fragments of an interview between Huey Newton and an unidentified member of the "Movement" wherein Newton explained the Black Panther ideology and described Black Power as being a nationalist revolutionary group whose purpose was to fight and destroy the two evils of capitalism and racism. Newton also defined Black Power as the black colony attempting to gain power over their own destiny.

100-445759-67 ep. 2  
(3)

[redacted] Los Angeles, Calif., Chapter of the BPP, was questioned regarding his knowledge of the whereabouts of Leroy Eldridge Cleaver (100-447251) and his affiliation with the BPP. [redacted] his first contact with the BPP came when Huey Newton, BPP Minister of Defense, spoke at Jefferson High School in Los Angeles in October, 1966. He was impressed with what Newton had to say and subsequently joined the BPP.

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[redacted] (protect identities), inmates, California Men's Colony, advised that they had met Newton shortly after he had arrived at this institution to serve time. Sources advised that Newton had given them information concerning Cleaver and the BPP, but they were reluctant to reveal this information since Newton was so powerful and had so many friends out of prison that they feared for their lives.

100-447251-481 p.P-S,30  
(3)

SI 100-447251-333 ep.1-4  
(3)

[redacted] advised that in approximately [redacted] [redacted] was expelled from the BPP for having displayed cowardice during a confrontation with Oakland, Calif., police officers while on a "patrol" in company with Huey Percy Newton.

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[redacted] (protect identity), furnished information revealing [redacted] signed the Visitor's Register at the Alameda County Jail on [redacted] as a visitor to Newton. Wright listed his relationship to Newton as [redacted] It was noted that at that time, Newton, BPP Defense Minister, was awaiting trial on charges of having murdered an Oakland police officer, and was subsequently found guilty of voluntary manslaughter.

b6  
b7C  
b7D

[redacted] refused to comment on 1/27/69, when asked if he was acquainted with Newton.

[redacted]  
(7,19)

[redacted] (protect identity), furnished a tape recording of a speech by Eddie Eugene Bolden [redacted] made at the Martin Born Cafeteria, Midwestern College, Denison, Iowa, on 2/26/69. This

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(continued)

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speech was sponsored by the Afro-American Student Association at Midwestern College. In his speech about the BPP, Bolden set out the facts surrounding the founding of the BPP by Minister of Defense, Huey P. Newton. Bolden also set forth the Ten Point Program drawn up by Newton for the BPP.

[REDACTED]

(17)

[REDACTED] advised that he had gone to school with Huey Newton in Oakland, Calif., in [REDACTED] and first became acquainted with Newton's political views at that time.

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b7C

[REDACTED] further advised that prior to his suspension from the BPP in approximately March of 1969, he had met with Newton in jail and believed that he was in Newton's favor. [REDACTED] also advised that one of Newton's strictest principles was that BPP members should not carry guns, but that Newton admitted violating both this principle and his belief that the people needed political education before a revolution could be started. [REDACTED] further advised that Newton had told him that he would probably serve the full fifteen years in prison and that it would be necessary for someone else to implement what he knew needed to be done, but that he had not picked anyone to replace himself in the BPP as yet.

[REDACTED]

(8)

b6  
b7C

[REDACTED] advised [REDACTED] had become affiliated with the BPP [REDACTED] when the BPP had conducted an armed invasion of the California States Legislature Assembly, Sacramento, Calif. She further advised [REDACTED] had become a close associate of Huey P. Newton, BPP Minister of Defense, and several other BPP members.

[REDACTED]

(11)

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The following references in the file captioned "Communist Influence in Racial Matters" pertain to CP activities in connection with the BPP and BPP Defense Minister, Huey P. Newton. On 1/30/69, [redacted] a CP member, claimed that he had a close relationship with the top leadership of the BPP in California and had spent [redacted]

b6  
b7C

On 4/19/69, at the Midwest Socialist Educational Conference of the Young Socialist Alliance in Urbana, Ill., a statement of solidarity with Newton was suggested. At the 19th National Convention of the CPUSA held in Brooklyn, N.Y. from 4/30/69 - 5/3/69, a resolution was approved calling for cooperation with and defense of the BPP and Newton.

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

100-442529-2858 p.2,15,26,27  
-2892 p.3,8

(3,10)  
(10)

This reference pertains to a hearing of the Subcommittee on Internal Security of the Committee on the Judiciary in Washington, D.C., on 6/26/69. Information regarding the BPP activities of Huey P. Newton, BPP Minister of Defense, was set out in an exhibit.

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

157-6-34-3038 ep. 100

(17)

(e)(u)  
[redacted] furnished a copy of a letter and enclosures dated 7/24/69 which had been circulated by [redacted] New Jersey CP. This letter called for support of the Plainfield Joint Defense Committee (PJDC) (100-454699) in its work to strike back at racism and other forms of oppression. One of the enclosures to this letter set out resolutions adopted by the PJDC. It was resolved that local committees be set up in all areas to unite both black and white to a joint nation-wide counter-offensive against the growing police-state repressions, since the object of jailing Huey Newton and the arrest of scores of other black and white militant leaders was intended to decapitate the leadership of the freedom struggle in order to force the oppressed to submit to their oppression.

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100-454699-2 p.10,19  
(3)

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This reference is a copy of an editorial entitled "Studies of Violence Misleading" which appeared in the 8/4/69 edition of "The San Diego Union". This editorial criticized a report on violence prepared by Jerome Skolnick, Professor at the University of California. In this report, Skolnick described the BPP as a defensive organization and suggested that the police provoked its members to violence. This conclusion was based on a statement (not explained) made by Huey Newton, who was serving two to fifteen years in a California penitentiary for voluntary manslaughter resulting from the shooting of a policeman who stopped him for a traffic violation.

62-112288-169 p.1  
(1)

The following references pertain to activities held in protest of the 10/28/67 arrest of Huey P. Newton for the murder of an Oakland, Calif., policeman. These activities covered the approximate period 7/16/68 through the fall of 1969 in numerous cities throughout the US, and included rallies and demonstrations sponsored by the BPP and co-sponsored by other organizations, including the SDS, the Peace and Freedom Party and the Young Socialist Alliance. Many of these activities were held to raise money for the Huey Newton Defense Fund and called for Newton's release. Newton was confined to jail in California during this period and his appeals for bail were denied.

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

62-112228-3-31 p.1,3,4	(9)
62-112228-15-35 ep.1,3	(1)
62-112423-107 p.1,17,151,224,225, 228-230,234,268,287	(1,10)
100-16-27-481 p.15,104	(1,10)
100-308353-150 p.25,38	(2)
100-427226-37-4X p.17,18,40	(2)
100-427226-50-6 p.9,10,19	(2)

(continued)

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(continued)

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

~~SECRET~~

100-442695-28 p.10,11	(3)
100-446997-9-21 p.78,120,127,303,340	(3,10)
100-451542-3 p.4,11	(3)
100-452260-23 p.9,60,61,103,108	(3)
100-453455-5 p.5,18	(3)
105-89231-48 p.8-10	(11)
105-183400-109 ep.6	(7)
105-190411-16 ep.2	(7)
157-8415-243-61 encl.2,p.1	(17)
157-13422-5 p.2,3,7	(8)
157-14306-1 ep.3,6	(18)
176-1438-6 p.5,6,9	(18)

The following references in the file captioned "Republic of New Africa" (RNA) contain information pertaining to the activities of Huey Newton, BPP Minister of Defense, in connection with this organization. Sometime prior to 9/26/69, Newton had sent a letter to Milton Henry, First Vice-President of RNA in Detroit, who in turn, sent a copy to John Taylor, RNA member in Dayton, Ohio. In this letter Newton proposed a merger of the BPP and the Black Legion of the RNA if each Black Panther could have rank and power.

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

157-9079-711 p.1,2	(8)
-730 ep.2,6	(8)
-772 p.51,105	(8)

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The following references in the file captioned "Students For a Democratic Society" contain information pertaining to SDS activities in support of BPP Defense Minister, Huey P. Newton, who was serving a sentence of two to fifteen years on a conviction of manslaughter in connection with the killing of an Oakland, Calif. police officer. During the period 11/21/68 - 9/26/69, in California, Illinois, Indiana, Massachusetts, Ohio and Texas, SDS chapters held rallies and demonstrations in behalf of Newton, sponsored and showed movies to raise money for Newton's defense, and urged support for the BPP and Newton at their conventions.

REFERENCE	SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER
100-439048-5-602 p.46,55,175,186	(2)
100-439048-10-110 p.1A,6,36,61	(2)
100-439048-11-182 p.44	(10)
100-439048-21-115 p.2,16	(10)
100-439048-33-139 ep.15,16,47	(2)
100-439048-42-85 ep.17,18,125	(2)
-97 ep.7,24	(10)
100-439048-47-167 p.18,41	(2)

The Indianapolis Office furnished a copy of an interview with SDS member Mark William Rudd [redacted] on 9/30/69, by Bob Rouse, announcer WAAC Radio, Terre Haute, Ind. This interview pertained to the SDS and its goal to overthrow the US Government. Rudd stated in this interview that there was a system of slavery still going on and that when black people spoke out, they were put in jail like Huey Newton and a whole bunch of others.

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[redacted]  
(7)

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(protect identity), furnished a leaflet concerning a proposed student strike on 11/14/69, which indicated that the Radical Jewish Students Union (RJSU) (100-456686) was calling for the "immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all US forces from Vietnam". (Locality not given.) This leaflet indicated that the RJSU urged support of the proposed release of political prisoners BPP Chairman Bobby Seale and BPP Minister of Defense Huey P. Newton in exchange for the release of US prisoners held by the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

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100-456686-4 p.8,10  
(11)

This reference in the file captioned "Charles R. Garry" contains information pertaining to the activities of Garry in connection with his defending Huey P. Newton and other BPP members. Garry was called to defend Newton in November, 1967 after Newton was charged with killing an Oakland police officer. These activities covered the approximate period November, 1967 - December, 1969 in various cities in California. Besides defending Newton, Garry gave numerous speeches in support of Newton and the BPP activities, and he also attacked the US judicial system as an instrument of US racist society.

100-259902-35 p.13-16,18,19,22-28,  
(2,10) 45,47,48,50,51,56,57,  
67,71,72,75

b2  
b7D

On 12/4/69,  advised that Karen Lee Wald (100-446938) was intimately involved with BPP Defense Minister Huey Newton. Source further advised that Wald had authored articles favorable to the BPP and anti-US. (Locality not given.)

100-446938-38 ep.2,5  
(3)

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On 1/1/70, [redacted] was observed in her home [redacted] with a large number of books and periodicals dealing with Black Nationalism and the BPP. Included in this material were BPP greeting cards. Two of these cards contained photographs of jailed BPP leader Huey P. Newton and "Huey P. Newton's Guerillas".

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[redacted] (u)

[redacted]  
(10)

The NYO furnished a copy of a transcript of an interview with Bobby Seale [redacted] which was telecast in the New York area on 5/26/70. This interview had been conducted in San Francisco, Calif., on 2/13/70. Seale discussed a book he was writing which had started out to be an autobiography of Huey P. Newton but was transformed into a story of the BPP, the genius of Newton. Seale set out details of how he and Newton had met and decided to form the BPP. (Copy of Transcript set out.)

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[redacted]  
(11)

The following references in the file captioned "Stokely Carmichael" contain information pertaining to speeches made by Carmichael, in which he mentioned Huey P. Newton, on 7/26/68 in Mobile, Alabama and on 4/9/70 in Washington, DC. During both speeches, he gave the history of the organization of the BPP and Newton's part in it and stated that Newton had undying love for the black people which was necessary for survival in America. He stated he had always been impressed by Newton and had a great deal of respect for him.

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

100-446080-2350 p.142,150,151  
-2626 ep.8,9,48

(10)  
(10)

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The Department of the Army Headquarters, US Army Intelligence Command, Fort Holabird, Md., furnished a summary of information dated 5/18/70 concerning the Movement for a Democratic Military (MDM) (100-456565). Set out was information regarding this organization, its preamble, and a list of demands of the MDM. One of these demands was to free all political prisoners. The MDM stated that in return for captured American troops in Vietnam, they supported freedom and amnesty for Eldridge Cleaver (not identified), Huey Newton, the Conspiracy 8 (not further identified), and their brother war resisters at home and abroad.

100-456565-38 ep.2  
(3)

The following references in the file captioned "Racial Matters" pertain to the BPP activities of Huey P. Newton, BPP Minister of Defense. Numerous rallies and demonstrations were held in support of Newton after he was incarcerated in connection with the murder of an Oakland, Calif., police officer in October, 1967. These activities covered the period 4/9/69 - 6/18/70 in California, Connecticut, Maryland, Massachusetts, New York and North Carolina. Newton was one of the initiators of a petition protesting the genocide of races which was presented to the public for signatures on 6/18/70, and was to be presented to the next session of the UN General Assembly.

REFERENCE	SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER
157-6-A "People's World", 7/11/70	(7)
157-6-3-3152 p.1,2	(16)
-3154 ep.3,7	(7)
157-6-5-942 ep.2,6	(7)
157-6-8-3432 p.1, ep.1,3-7,38,47,53	(16)
157-6-10-1350 ep.67	(17)
157-6-32-957 p.1	(17)

(continued)

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REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

157-6-34-2987 p.1  
-2991 ep.2,9

(17)  
(17)

157-6-47-1375 p.1,2  
-1439 ep.2,5  
-1478 ep.3,40,54,58,66

(17)  
(17)  
(17)

b7D

[redacted] (protect identity),  
advised that City Commissioner William Grear met with five members of  
the Cry of Black Youth (COBY) (157-17731) organization at their head-  
quarters, 517 Northwest Avenue A, Belle Glade, on 7/1/70. Grear told  
them they preached brotherhood and peace, but at the same time had  
posters of known militants such as Huey Newton on the walls of their  
meeting place, and in his opinion, this did not indicate they were  
peaceful.

b6  
b7C

On 7/14/70, [redacted] one of the co-sponsors of  
COBY in Belle Glade, advised the posters of Newton and other militants  
at COBY headquarters, were often necessary to get and keep the interest  
of the younger members up.

157-17731-4 ep.4,10  
(8)

In connection with the Pan-African Committee of the Black  
United Front-Tour of Africa, July - August, 1970 (157-17889), a WFO  
informant (not further identified) advised that black Africans exhibited  
particular interest in the violence—prone BPP and its leaders,  
Bobby Seale, Huey Newton, and Eldridge Cleaver.

157-17889-11 p.1  
(8)

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The following references in the file captioned "Black Panther Party" pertain to the BPP activities of Huey Percy Newton, co-founder and Minister of Defense of the BPP. Included was information pertaining to numerous BPP activities held throughout the US and internationally in support of Newton after he was jailed in connection with the shooting of an Oakland, Calif., police officer. These activities covered the approximate period between 1965 when Newton started making plans to organize the BPP and 11/4/70 after he had been released from prison and resumed his BPP activities.

REFERENCE	SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER
105-165706-812 p.1	(4)
-846 p.1	(11)
-903 p.4-6,12,17,21,25,26, 29,34,36	(4,11,19)
-919 ep.1,3	(4)
-1054 ep.3,5	(11)
-1136 ep.1,2,7	(11)
-1138 p.1,ep.1	(11)
-1219 ep.2	(4,11)
-1243 p.1,3,ep.1,5,6,10,11	(4,12)
-1275 p.1	(12)
-1354 p.1,ep.1,14,16,17	(12)
-1418 ep.2,4-6,28	(4,12)
-1421 ep.6,7,23	(12)
-1434 p.1-3,5,12,17,19,20, 38,ep.18	(4,12)
-1441 ep.2,3,9	(19)
-1442 ep.1-7,9	(19)
-1449 ep.6-8,13	(4,12)
-1468 ep.6,11,37	(12,19)
-1490 ep.2	(4)
-1550 p.2	(12)
-1559 ep.8-12,32	(4,12)
-1564 p.3,9,12,23	(12)
-1565 ep.3,7,9	(4)
-1583 ep.3,6	(4,12)
-1642 p.1	(12)
-1729 ep.1	(4,13)
-1993 p.7-10,28	(5,13)
-2452 p.1,2,16-18,20,29-34	(13)

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(continued)

REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

105-165706-2467 ep.1,2,4,6,7,11,14	(13)
-2577 p.1,3,6,26	(13)
-2751 p.3,31	(13)
-2896 p.1,ep.1	(5,13)
-3216 p.1	(13)
-3262X p.1	(8)
-3296 p.1	(5)
-3297 p.1	(5)
105-165706-3-329 p.5-7,18	(5,13)
105-165706-5-84 ep.5,10,16-21,35,36	(5,13)
105-165706-9-41 ep.2,3,6-8,14,15,24,28, 55,64,65,67,68,76,88	(5)
-151 p.33,45	(13)
-292 ep.29,34,35,44,88	(5)
-827 p.1,ep.1-9,13,18,22-25, 27,31,42	(5,13)
105-165706-10-22 p.3	(5)
105-165706-13-53 ep.2,5	(14)
105-165706-15-14 p.1	(5)
-50 p.1	(5)
-262 p.1	(14)
-279 p.1,ep.1-7,12	(14)
105-165706-21-70 ep.4,5	(14)
-89 ep.5,18,21	(14)
105-165706-23-68 p.1	(14)
-218 p.1	(14)
105-165706-26-228 ep.2,10	(14)
-264 p.47,49,50,77,93,104	(14)

(continued)

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REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

105-165706-26-352 ep. 1, 2, 14, 15, 27, 32, 34, 37	(14)
-505 p. 5, 7-9, 35, 36, 38-58, 70, 73, 77, 79	(22)
-647 p. 15, 21, 29, 52, 63-65, 70, 72-74, 76, 82, 116	(6, 14)
-764 p. 4, 53	(14)
-976 ep. 10, 11, 28, 33, 37	(6, 14)
-1124 ep. 1, 13, 19	(6)
-1244 p. 12, 15, 24, 26, 27, 29, 47, 50, 67	(6, 15)
-1281 ep. 2, 3	(6, 15)
 105-165706-30-43 p. 3, 26, 36	 (6)
 105-165706-32-30 ep. 5, 7	 (6)
-144 ep. 8, 26	(15)
-209 ep. 3, 7, 10, 15, 18, 34, 76, 79	(15)
-1136 ep. 3	(15)
-1484 p. 2	(6)
 105-165706-34-156 p. 21	 (15)
-199 ep. 1-3	(2)
-577 p. 7, 12, 14, 17	(6, 15)
-610 ep. 2, 3, 5-9, 11, 13, 19, 21-25, 27, 28	(6, 15)
-A "The Washington Post Times Herald", 2/18/70	(15)
 105-165706-35-48 p. 1	 (6)
 105-165706-37-45 ep. 1, 3, 9	 (15)
 105-165706-38-12 ep. 5, 6, 20, 22	 (15)
-27 ep. 7, 9, 15, 19	(6)

(continued)

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REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER

105-165706-46-44 p.12,16,23	(15)
-115 p.15,18,29	(16)
105-165706-50-148 encl.1,p.10,encl.2,p.3,23,	(6,16)
encl.3,p.2,9-11,44-46	
-165 p.1,3,9,15-17,47	(7,16)
-358 p.5,21,22,36	(16)
105-165706-53-408 p.1,2	(16)
-422 p.1,2	(16)
105-165706-61-11 p.2	(16)
105-165706-67-50 p.1,ep.1,3	(16)
-89 p.4,17	(7,16)
105-165706-84-155 p.1	(7)
-567 p.1	(7)
105-165706-221-30 ep.5,7	(16)

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REFERENCES NOT INCLUDED IN THIS SUMMARY

The following references on Huey Newton and Huey P. Newton located in files maintained in the Special File Room of the Records Branch, Files and Communications Division, were not reviewed, and it is not known whether they are identical with the subject of this summary:

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(continued)

REFERENCE

b1

SEARCH SLIP PAGE NUMBER



(S)

(1)

(1)

100-448006-911  
-1156  
-1314

(10)

(11)

(11)

105-165706-3289

(5)

See the search slip filed behind file for other references on this subject which contain the same information (SI) that is set out in the main file. Although the information is the same it may have been received from different sources.

~~SECRET~~

F B I

Date: 5/26/71

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165429)

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203)

RE: HUEY PERCY NEWTON, aka  
RM - BPP (KBE)ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 6-26-87 BY SP5CAJ  
GAT

Re San Francisco airtel and LHM dated 5/21/71.

Enclosed for the Bureau are the original and one xerox copy of article captioned "What Newton Thinks: The Church And The Panthers", which appeared in the 5/24/71, issue of the "San Francisco Chronicle", a daily San Francisco California, newspaper.

The Bureau will note that the enclosed article is written by TIM FINDLEY, a staff reporter for the "San Francisco Chronicle", who is a close friend of NEWTON and who has written articles sympathetic to the BPP in the past.

EX-100

REC-30

105-165429-433

ENCLOSURE

② - Bureau (Encs. 2) (RM)

1 - San Francisco

JLC/sad

56 JUN 10 1971 F452

7 MAY 29 1971

RACIAL  
INT. SEC.b6  
b7C

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

## What Newton Thinks

# The Church and the Panthers

"Religion is a stalking  
horse to shoot other folk."

George Herbert

By Tim Findley

Huey Newton has a persistent problem in articulating complicated arguments that are frequently interpreted with simple meanings.

When the Black Panther co-founder and minister of defense brought

his party into prominence with calls for armed self defense in the Nation's

ghettos, alarmists saw it as a cry for racial warfare.

When Newton told a theological seminar in Berkeley Thursday that the party intends to "get involved with the church," it was concluded by some that Newton had got himself religion.

### MESSAGE

But the message from the 29-year-old son of a former Baptist preacher is the same in both cases — self determination for the black community and the overthrow of the status quo.

Newton took reports of his speech to the Graduate Theological Union with a kind of characteristic wry disgust yesterday.

"The Black Panther Party is relating to all institutions in the black community," he said. "The church is a very important institution in the black community and we're

coming into the church just as we're coming into other institutions in the black community."

### OBSERVERS

To observers close to Newton and the Panthers, the announcement was neither surprising nor inconsistent.

At the heart of the recent split between Newton and former Panther Minister of Information Eldridge Cleaver were differences over whether the party was to be, as Newton saw it, a "grass roots" organization in the black community or limited to Cleaver's view of a slashing guerrilla cadre.

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### PROGRAMS

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and approach and become more consistent."

But missed in most reports was Newton's statement to churchmen that "we have to have more effect on them than vice versa."

### WEAPONS

For the Panthers, Newton made

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 6-26-87 BY SP5CJ/EF

4 S.F.Chronicle

San Francisco, Calif.

Date: 5-24-71  
Edition: Home  
Author: Tim Findley  
Editor: and Pub.: Chas. deYoung Thieriot  
Title:

Character:

or

Classification:

Submitting Office: SF

☐ Being Investigated

ENCLOSURE

433



clear, have no intention of abandoning their weapons, and his speech Thursday was intended as an offer of alliance, not a supplication.

"We have made mistake," he told the theologians, "but I'm not going to apologize for them. Instead of calling things we have done mistakes, I refer to them as phases of development we've going through."

With an implied reference to Cleaver, Newton said he recognized that "we will be criticized by revolutionary cultists for trying to effect change by stages. But to do all we want to do, we just have to go through all the stages of development. We

cannot jump from A to Z as some thought.

"We have to find out what the people WILL do at a certain time in history, not what they CAN do, because we know they can do everything. We have to know what they will do at a particular time and after they do that we'll move them to a higher level until they eventually control their own destiny."

#### CHURCH

Newton, a Marxist, said some in his party had arrogantly "dumped" the church and rejected those who believe in God.

God is commonly described as an unknown," he said. "As science discovers more and more, the unknown becomes smaller and we find the attributes we thought it possessed to exist within us and we grow larger. But we accept we don't know all — anyone who says he does is arrogant."

Panther involvement in black community institutions

such as the church, Newton said, will probably result in them "modifying each other," but he said the goals of the Panther Party remain unchanged.

"The scriptures don't say anything about the church being in heaven," Newton said yesterday. "I assume then that the church will simply be negated when we solve our social problems. When that happens, the Black Panther Party will also be negated. Until then the battle is still between the community as a whole and the status quo that is oppressing it."



(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

## What Newton Thinks

# The Church and the Panthers

"Religion is a stalking horse to shoot other fowl."

George Herbert

coming into the church just as we're coming into other institutions in the black community."

By Tim Findley

Huey Newton has a persistent problem in postulating complicated arguments that are frequently interpreted with simple meanings.

When the Black Panther co-founder and minister of defense brought his party into prominence with calls for armed self defense in the Nation's ghettos, alarmists saw it as a cry for racial warfare.

When Newton told a theological seminar in Berkeley Thursday that the party intends to "get involved with the church," it was concluded by some that Newton had got himself religion.

### MESSAGE

But the message from the 29-year-old son of a former Baptist preacher is the same in both cases — self determination for the black community and the overthrow of the status quo.

Newton took reports of his speech to the Graduate Theological Union with a kind of characteristic wry disgust yesterday.

"The Black Panther Party is relating to all institutions in the black community," he said. "The church is a very important institution in the black community, and we're

### OBSERVERS

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## Domestic Intelligence Division

## INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 5/27/71

Attached relates that the date for the retrial of Huey P. Newton, a leader of the Black Panther Party who is being tried for murder of an Oakland, California, Police Officer, has been set for 6/28/71.

Copy of attached sent to Internal Security Division of the Department.

JTK:jd

*CDP*  
*/gm**6/27/71**LC*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 6-26-82 BY SP5GJ  
*40x*

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAY 26 1971

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson ☒  
Mr. Sullivan ☒  
Mr. Mohr ☒  
Mr. Bishop ☒  
Mr. Brennan ☒  
Mr. Callahan ☒  
Mr. Casper ☒  
Mr. Conrad ☒  
Mr. Dalbey ☒  
Mr. Felt ☒  
Mr. Gale ☒  
Mr. Rosen ☒  
Mr. Tavel ☒  
Mr. Walters ☒  
Mr. Soyars ☒  
Miss Holmes ☒  
Miss Gandy ☒

NR 015 SF PLAIN

8 10 PM NITEL 5/26/71 BEH

TO: DIRECTOR (105-165429) (ATTN: DID)

FROM: SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 6-26-87 BY SP5 GPT

HUEY P. NEWTON, AKA, RM - BPP, KEY BLACK EXTREMIST.

b6  
b7C

SUBJECT APPEARED IN ALAMEDA COUNTY SUPERIOR COURT, DEPARTMENT FIVE, OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA, MORNING, MAY TWENTYSIX, INSTANT. AT REQUEST OF NEWTON'S ATTORNEY, DATE FOR RETRIAL OF NEWTON FOR MANSLAUGHTER SET FOR JUNE TWENTYEIGHT, NEXT. NEWTON'S ATTORNEY EXPLAINED THAT CHARLES R. GARRY, WHO IS NEWTON'S ATTORNEY AND WHO REPRESENTED BOBBY SEALE IN THE RECENT NEW HAVEN TRIAL, WOULD WIND UP MATTERS DEALING WITH THE SEALE CASE WITHIN THE NEXT FEW DAYS AND WOULD THEN NEED A SHORT WHILE TO PREPARE NEWTON'S CASE. ALAMEDA COUNTY DISTRICT ATTORNEY WAS AGREEABLE TO TRIAL DATE OF JUNE TWENTYEIGHT, NEXT.

b6  
b7C

END

EBR FBI WASH DC

FOR TWO

EX-113  
REC-49

105-165429-434

12 JUN 4 1971

58 JUN 10 1971



F B I

Date: 5/25/71

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

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C

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165429)

FROM: SAC, NEW HAVEN (157-1031) (P)

SUBJECT: HUEY P. NEWTON  
(KEY - BLACK EXTREMIST)  
RM - BPP  
OO:SF

101

Re New Haven airtel and LHM, 2/5/71.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 8 copies of an LHM concerning specific details concerning subject's appearance at Yale Univ., 2/2-4/71. Enclosed for San Francisco are 2 copies of instant LHM in view of their interest in subject's activities.

Enclosed LHM is classified ~~confidential~~ to protect the identity of a source whose disclosure could affect the national security adversely.

me

San Francisco is requested to review the enclosed article which has been described by source as "accurate". It is noted that "8 weeks" after NEWTON's seminar [redacted] and HUEY NEWTON met [redacted] in NEWTON's Oakland apartment and joined only by [redacted] and one associate of NEWTON's". They continued their discussion informally. Their relationship reportedly is to continue.

New Haven possesses no additional information to verify [redacted] continued relationship with NEWTON nor the BPP. However, New Haven will remain alert in the future for any details concerning this matter.

Original copy of above-mentioned article is being retained in NH file 157-1031-14

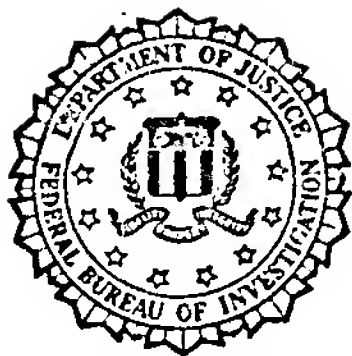
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  - 2 - San Francisco (Enc. 2) (RM)
  - 3 - New Haven (2 - 157-1031) (1 - 157 [redacted])

10 MAY 28 1971

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Approved: [Signature]  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_



In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

New Haven, Connecticut

May 25, 1971

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RE: HUEY PERSON NEWTON  
Seminar, Trumbull College  
Yale University  
New Haven, Connecticut  
February 2-4, 1971

A characterization of the Black Panther  
Party (BPP) is contained in the Appendix.

On May 24, 1971, NH T-1, a source with whom insufficient contact has been had to determine his reliability, furnished the enclosed article entitled "Erik Erikson and Huey Newton." Source stated that this article is extremely accurate and contains additional details concerning NEWTON's activities while in New Haven, Connecticut, in February, 1971. Source also advised that the author of this article is JEFFREY NEIL GORDON, a senior student at Trumbull College, Yale University. GORDON is scheduled to graduate in June, 1971, and reportedly is interested in a career in journalism. The above mentioned article appeared in the May edition of the "Yale Alumni Magazine", a monthly publication published by Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut. This article is set forth as follows:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED BY SP6 dja/et

ON 11-6-81

#55,516

SP5 W/pt 6-26-87

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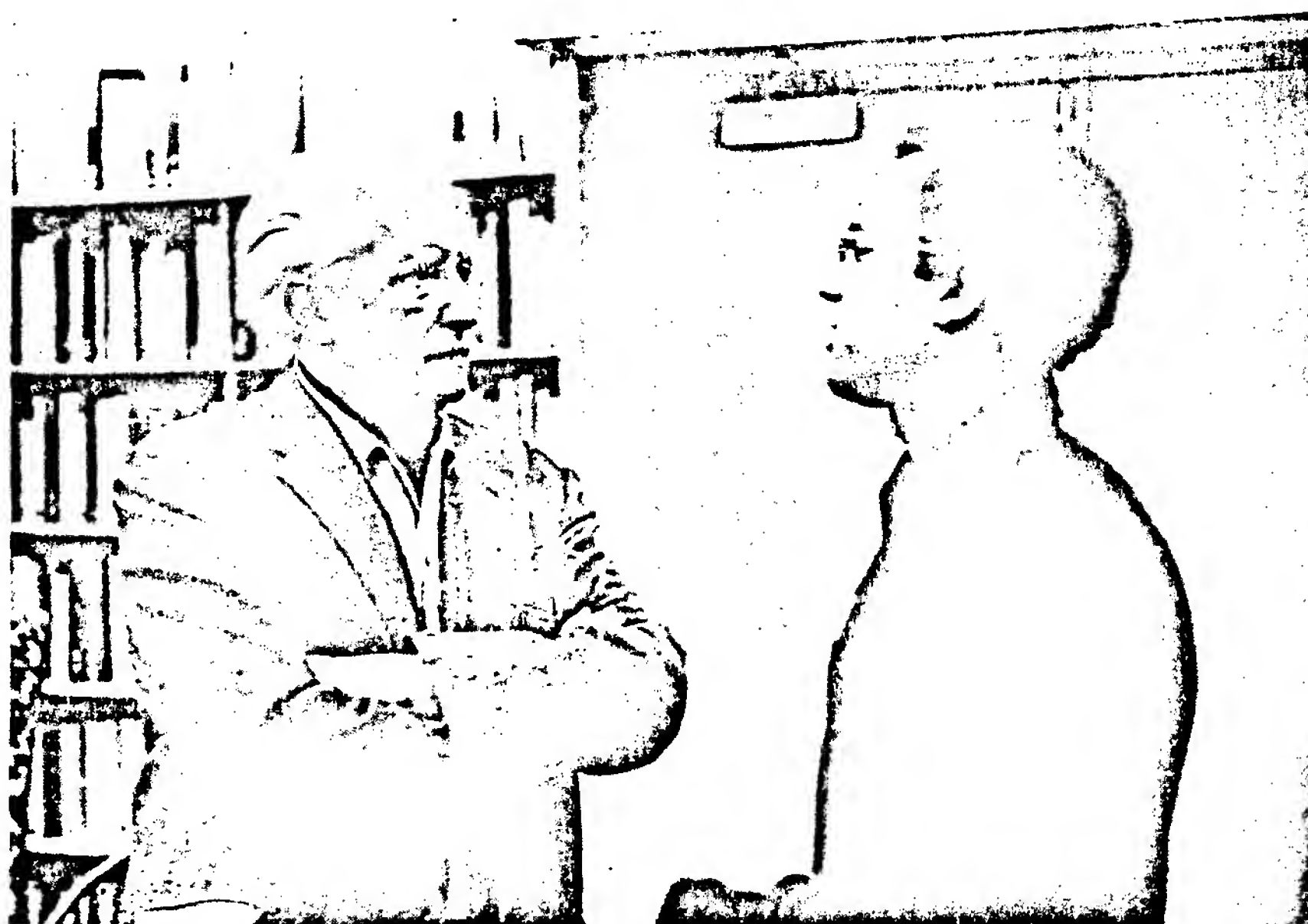
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downgrading and  
declassification

435

# Erik Erikson and Huey Newton

by Jeffrey Gordon

For three days at Yale the old sociologist and  
the young Panther talked, listened, and began  
'a relationship that would continue'





A short time ago a new film called "Bright College Years" had its premiere in the common room of Yale's Trumbull College. The first half of the film depicted last spring's tumult over the New Haven trial of Black Panther Party chairman Bobby Seale. The second half contrasted that intense period of student action with the less serious behavior of the University's Old Blues returning for Alumni Week in June.

The film recalled the most dramatic moment of "Black Panther Spring": Panther chief of staff David Hilliard's fiery harangue before a tense crowd in Ingalls Rink, in which he said that "killing pigs" was necessary and proper as part of the impending revolutionary struggle—a statement that was heavily booed by most of the largely Yale audience.

Now, less than a week after the showing of "Bright College Years," David Hilliard walked into the Trumbull College dining hall for dinner—in the company of Panther defense minister and supreme commander Huey P. Newton. Nine months earlier such an entrance would have electrified everyone. Now Hilliard and Newton could go through the cafeteria lines, be introduced to a few black students, and sit down for a leisurely discussion. Their presence naturally drew excited stares, but mostly those in the dining hall maintained a slightly quizzical distance.

*Jeffrey Gordon, a senior, worked on the Yale Daily News for three years. He plans to take a year off before going to law school and is currently looking for a job on a small-town newspaper. Photographs by Reginald A. Krasney.*

It was no accident that brought Newton and Hilliard to Trumbull for dinner; nor did their appearance stem from a desire to see whether a nine-month gestation period had given birth to any new Yale commitment to the Panther cause. Newton and Hilliard were at Yale simply because they had been invited.

Newton had agreed to participate in a three-day colloquium with Erik Erikson, 14 students and two faculty moderators; Hilliard was part of his entourage. This meeting between Huey Newton and Erik Erikson had great potential. The 68-year-old Erikson was the eminent sociologist and author of psychoanalytic biographies of revolutionary figures, notably Luther and Gandhi. And the 29-year-old Newton was, after all, a leading figure in the current revolutionary pantheon.

Originally, plans for the encounter were rather modest: Newton, Erikson and some students would engage in a few days' discussion in the unimposing Trumbull Seminar Room. The subject would be Newton's new philosophy of "intercommunalism." Expenses would be covered by



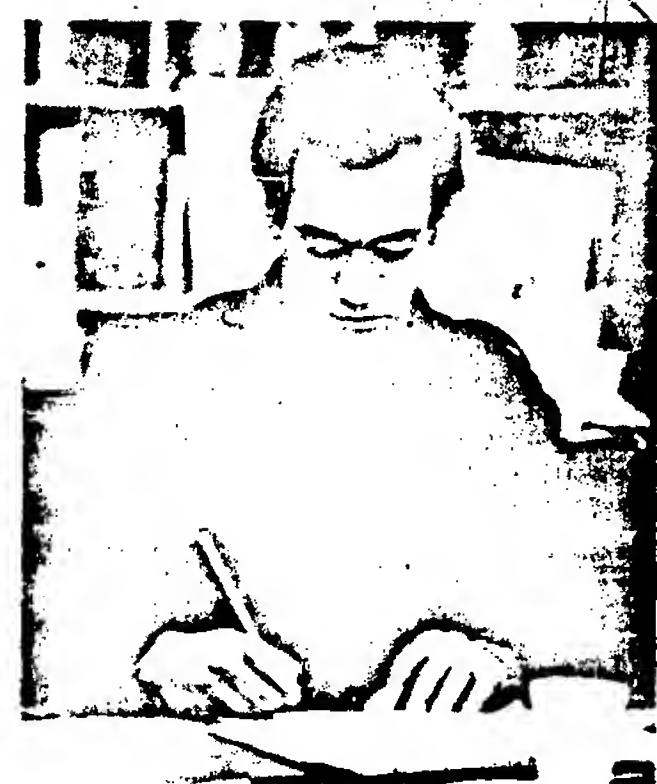
a fund that Yale regularly uses to bring political figures to the University. Newton would be the guest of Trumbull College, whose Master, Kai Erikson—Erik Erikson's 39-year-old son, a noted sociologist in his own right—

had been instrumental in making arrangements. Kai Erikson hoped that Newton would take some meals in the college and be available to participate in a few college affairs—such is the frequent pattern of a "visiting dignitary."

Meanwhile a New York publishing house inquired about the possibility of taping the Newton-Erikson discussion for a book. As a group whose needs for money were apparent, the Panthers and Newton were naturally amenable. For their own reasons both Eriksons also agreed. At this point the "informal discussion" became "the conference" or "the colloquium."

As its organizer, Kai Erikson began to face rising commercial pressure, including offers from other publishing houses and from a Hollywood producer who wanted to film the meeting. Erikson turned to the Yale University Press, whose respect for the intellectual integrity of the meeting he felt he could trust. The Press, in exchange for first refusal rights on any book that might emerge, matched the offer by other publishers and agreed to the use of its second-floor library as the site.

Huey P. Newton's first appearance at Yale took the form of a Sunday night speech in Woolsey Hall. Although the speech had been scheduled to begin at 7:30, Newton did not appear on stage until two hours later. Most of that delay resulted from the meticulous



frisking of everyone who wanted to enter the hall, the security-conscious Panthers' standard operating procedure whenever their leaders speak. Reportedly they found no knives, guns or other weapons among the 1,200 well-dressed, mainly white spectators.

Finally, at 9:35, Huey P. Newton himself walked out on stage, accompanied by two bodyguards who towered over his 5'7" frame. He raised his hands above the podium to applaud the crowd which was applauding him. "You applaud me and I applaud you for helping to set me free," he said, in a voice closer to a high-pitched whine than a revolutionary roar. "We have a right to use any means necessary to free Bobby and Ericka," he said as the crowd settled back to wait for the fire-breathing exhortation they had come to expect from Panther chiefs.

Thus most of the audience was surprised when Newton began to talk about "subjective idealism" in contrast to "materialism." "In order to be as subjective as people for the interests of the people, we must be objective with the facts," he said. "We must learn to manipulate the environment. That's what power is—the ability to define phenomena and then manipulate phenomena."

Had the audience somehow stumbled into a philosophy lecture? Newton's speech was a systematic development of a new ideology of his own: "revolutionary intercommu-



nalism." He cited Kant, Pierce, James, Hegel, Marx, Freud, Jung and Erikson as he spoke. He referred to notions of the "global village," the "historical accident that the ruling group in the United States is white," and to the Oedipus complex as "the son's hostility to the father and wanting to rip him off." He finally closed his address on a utopian vision of man with a "universal identity... Man will dictate to the machine—he will be free from the machine and free from the ruling group. The father is dead and God is dead, and man will be his own father and his own God and the son of his father."

Most of the audience walked out at the end feeling somewhat cheated. Newton had not used one profane word, had not made one reference to "pigs" or "offing pigs," had not lambasted white racists. His speech probably struck some as the disconnected ramblings of a barroom revolutionary who had once read through part of an anthology of "Great Thinkers of the Western World." Yet, although the talk was laced with many standard borrowings from Marx and Lenin, it nevertheless contained a good amount of original thought, especially Newton's notions about the indirect blessings of "imperialism by the U.S. ruling group." Imperialism had centralized the whole world into one community, he said, creating a condition of "reactionary intercommunalism." But imperialism carried with it "the seeds of its own negation" into "revolutionary intercommunalism." As Newton expressed it, "The expropriated will expropriate the expropriators."

He made one cogent point about the short-sightedness of any national socialist movement: With all the world's wealth held by the U.S. ruling group, how could individual nations have any substantial wealth to distribute to their people?

Newton also played his ideology off against the theories of such New Left thinkers as Herbert Marcuse. Marcuse had maintained that the newly emerging revolutionary class would be the



middle-class technocrats, the proletariat of tomorrow. Newton stood Marcuse on his head. He pointed out that this burgeoning technocracy—influential but numerically small—would eliminate increasingly large portions of the population from meaningful work. Thus for Newton the emerging *lumpenproletariat*—the unemployed and unemployable—would be the source of support for any revolution. This was his defense of the Black Panther emphasis on recruiting "brothers of the block"—the *lumpenproletariat*—rather than the black working class.

The most important part of Newton's address for the colloquium to follow was his attempt to reach out to Erik Erikson. He cited Erikson in his description of the fratrici-

"the conflict of the species and the pseudo-species, [where] one group claims that the others are not homo sapiens." He said that man's "universal identity" (an Erikson term) would be made possible by the universal spread of technology inherent in intercommunalism.

Most of those who had not been put off by Newton's verbiage and the unaccustomed sight of a Black Panther discussing philosophy were impressed with Newton's speech.

The Trumbull people who helped Newton move in said they were impressed by his "enormous personal appeal."

"He struck me as a very polite, courteous person—he didn't come off as the media's image of a Panther, fierce and angry," one said. Newton told the Trumbull people—Kai Erikson's secretary and his student aides—that he wanted to talk to as many students as possible. He said he didn't mind if people called him on the phone.

That night Newton came to dinner in the Trumbull dining hall. Escorted by Kai Erikson and accompanied by Hilliard, he walked through the common room, draped his khaki field coat over a chair, and walked through the cafeteria lines for dinner. Erikson accompanied him to a table near the door, introduced him and Hilliard to some blacks already seated there, and left. Newton sat down with his back toward much of the dining hall. The table soon filled up with black students.

During dinner Newton looked over his shoulder at the vast expanse of the wood-beamed Trumbull dining room, built more like a Gothic hall than a cafeteria. He noticed several pairs of eyes staring at him, and, as was his custom, smiled. Immediately those eyes turned away, as was the custom of Yalies trying not to be caught in the social error of Staring at the Famous Man. Newton apparently interpreted that gesture as a hostile one—later that week David Dellinger chided Yale students for their "hostile reaction" to Newton and cited the "turning of eyes" at dinner.

After dinner Newton was accosted by a black student who asked if Newton didn't agree that "Marx was a wooly-headed adolescent who doesn't mean anything, who

What Newton seemed to need most to establish his stature as a fine ideological mind was a good editor. His intellectual display also quashed what must have been a fear on the part of the colloquium organizers: that Huey Newton would have little of substance to say to Erik Erikson.

The next day, Monday, Newton moved into the Trumbull College guest suite, a modest two-room apartment. With him came Hilliard and Connie Mathews, who functioned as his appointments secretary.



created just another ideology." As he walked into the common room, Newton was faced with a harangue of a different sort—a performance of Yale's "God Squad," a fundamentalist Christian group which was touring the residential colleges singing and preaching about the need to "return to Jesus." The God-Squaders in one ear, an anti-Marxist black Yale student in the other, Newton picked up his coat, hurriedly excused himself and left through a back exit. Later he found a wad of saliva on his coat. "From that time on," said Charles Garry in a post-visit interview, "Newton resolved never to go into the dining hall again."

The "turning of eyes" and spitting on his coat were not the only incidents which gave Newton the false impression that Yale people did not want to welcome him. One night Newton's party returned to their car to find the tires slashed; another night their car, illegally parked, was towed away. These incidents inevitably distorted Newton's impression of Yale students before he had even met the participants in the colloquium. For whatever reason,

Newton participated in none of Trumbull's activities during the rest of his stay. All the requests by students and teachers to speak with him or invite him to a class were rebuffed with references to his "tightly packed schedule."

The colloquium was scheduled to begin Tuesday morning at 10 in the library of the Yale University Press. Newton and his party arrived at 10:30. He took off his field coat, put down a long baton he carried—black Bakelite, tipped with a silvery metal—and sat down across from Erik Erikson.

Tension in the library was manifest. The room itself looked more like a corporation board room than a library. True, its walls were lined with the Press's distinguished publications, but the focus was a huge mahogany table, 20 feet long by five feet wide. Three large microphones were in the center of the table, reminding each participant that his words were being recorded for posterity.

Newton's presence was formidable. That first day he wore a dark blue T-shirt that revealed massive biceps—a sufficiently impressive display for everyone to recall it in discussing Newton. His was the clear aura of command. As Eldridge Cleaver once wrote, "I found myself sharing with Bobby Seale the same attitude toward Huey—the same willingness to place my life in his hands, the same confidence that Huey will do the right thing at any given moment, that his instincts are sound and that there is nothing to do but follow Huey and back him up." (Since then Cleaver has broken with Newton.) For his part, Chester Kerr—the walrus-moustached director

of the University Press—Newton reminded him of Paul Newman—"he had the same narrow head, that slender lithe look, the muscular stance."

Erik Erikson's figure was much less physically powerful but no less prepossessing. Ruddy-faced and white-haired, Erikson had a presence that went beyond the calm demeanor of a tweedy professor. He was one of the age's elders, a man whose compassion and understanding seemed implicit in his life and work. If Newton was a revolutionary, Erikson was a chronicler of revolutionaries; if Newton was a prophet, Erikson was a saint. Both men had reportedly been upset at what some people were billing as a "confrontation" between them. Both would soon dispel that notion with their mutual courtesy.

Two Yale professors were present: Kai Erikson and Elting Morison, Master of Timothy Dwight College and chief trustee of the fund that was to have financed Newton's visit before the book was proposed. If anyone "presided" over the colloquium, it was Kai Erikson, though his direction was minimal.

The fourteen students who participated were a strange



sample of the Yale community. Ten were from Trumbull and Timothy Dwight—each Master chose five—and the other four were picked by Erikson upon advice "of various faculty and University administrators." None of the student participants were known as "heavy political people." One was a member of the New Haven Panther Defense Committee, but even his radicalism was likened "more to Mississippi Summer than to hard-core revolutionary practice." Five of the students were women; one was in women's lib. Six were black, but none was identified with the more militant wing of the Black Student Alliance. One of the black students was secretary of the class of 1971; another was a member of one of Yale's oldest and wealthiest senior societies. One of the white students was the goalie of the hockey team.

Elting Morison said he had chosen students who he thought "would have an interest in race relations." Erikson said he chose students "somewhat at random," within the framework of trying to facilitate a "people-to-people exchange." Few of the students had attended Newton's Woolsey Hall address; fewer had read his speech on intercommunalism in the Panther newspaper before the conference began. Most however, had become familiar with Erik Erikson in introductory psychology courses.

Kai Erikson began the colloquium by inviting Newton to make his introductory remarks. Newton responded by talking for nearly an hour and a half, essentially reiterating his Woolsey Hall address on intercommunalism. After a short break the students began questioning Newton about the specifics of intercommunalism—how would it come into being? Newton answered by

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referring to the contradictions he saw inherent in history, the contradictions that would transform the social and political system. He mentioned that he had been unable to read or write until he was 16 though he had been in the Oakland public school system since childhood. One of the students later observed that this revelation about a man so obviously intelligent was the most glaring indictment of an educational system that he could imagine.

Erik Erikson did not speak that first day. Throughout Newton's comments he took copious notes on an artist's sketch pad with two felt-tipped color pens. Major thoughts he wrote down in blue; these he connected with red lines and circles. (Kai Erikson once described his father, who in his youth was an art student, as a "geometric thinker who saw his thoughts in spatial relation to one another.")

If the first day of the colloquium was Huey Newton's, the second day was Erik Erikson's. Erikson began his response to Newton's comments of the day before. From the start he made it clear that he would pay more attention to the "creed of one man" than to the "ideology of a party." His major interest seemed to be how "the New Newton" had emerged from "the old Huey"—how the thinker and theoretician had emerged from the ghetto gunslinger, with a black beret, bandolier and gun.

He compared the "positive identity" that Newton had established for himself—the source of his dignity and stature as a man—with similar efforts by Martin Luther and

Gandhi. For Erikson the central dilemma facing a would-be revolutionary figure was not his commitment to violence as opposed to non-violence, but his commitment to *discipline*. Thus Erikson saw disciplined violence and disciplined non-violence as correlative rather than antagonistic. In making that point Erikson referred to a passing remark Newton had made about "armed love"—a phrase which Chester Kerr, director of the Press, said struck him



as a good title for any book that might result.

Erikson dealt with Newton's idea of intercommunalism in terms of his own theories of personal and social development, especially the notion of "pseudo-speciation." Erikson describes this social phenomenon as denoting "the fact that while man is obviously one species, he appears and continues on the same scene split up into groups (from tribes to nations, from castes to classes, from religion to ideologies) which provide their members with a firm sense of distinct and superior identity—and immortality. This demands, however, that each group must invent for itself a place and moment in the very center of the universe where and when an especially provident deity

caused it to be created superior to all the other mere mortals."

Picking up Newton's previous references, Erikson said that "pseudo-speciation" was the greatest obstacle to a "universal identity" for man. Erikson said that intercommunalism—a feeling of community within those who immediately live together and an emphatic connection with other communities throughout the world—could provide an alternative to pseudo-

speciation. Erikson quoted the young Marx: "Until the world revolution, no one anywhere will really be an adult." Perhaps the most perceptive use of Newton's intercommunalism, Erikson suggested, was in its redefinition of "adult," now defined in terms of pseudo-species.

One of the student participants described Erikson's comments as "a heavy rap."

In his response Erik Erikson had clearly tried to overcome the gap—intellectual and social—inevitable between a 68-year-old professor and a

29-year-old revolutionary. He had not embraced Newton's entire position with its accompanying commitments. Instead he had picked up Newton's arguments, given them a close examination, and turned them a bit to expose their various facets. He had shown how many of Newton's points fit into his own theories, recalling that in his youth in Vienna he had been a revolutionary himself, struggling against the Freudian establishment. He depicted his estrangement from his own native country as the stepson of a Jew in Austria in the face of an imminent Nazi invasion—and his temporary sense of homelessness as an immigrant to America. (In a discussion with students during one of the breaks, Erikson had spoken of the different levels on which he and Newton operated: "I'm an academic psychoanalyst; Newton, I think, is a bit of a prophet.")

During the colloquium and over two dinners, a personal bond between the two grew—Newton began to refer to Erikson as "Erik" rather than "the Professor." Yet in his response Newton seemed to think that Erikson had partly misunderstood his position or confused some of his points. He didn't feel that Erikson's problems in immigrating were comparable to his own sense of alienation from the current government. (Neither did Erikson, as he emphasized later.) Nor did Newton agree with Erikson's description of his commitment to disciplined violence. Rather, he said that the Panther strategy of announcing a willingness for armed struggle was less a tactic of "armed love" than a device to educate the community politically. "It's wrong to publish a military strategy for military reasons," Newton said, quoting Ho Chi Minh. "It's right to do it for political reasons." Later Newton reportedly said that he didn't think Erikson really em-

pathized with the revolutionary figures he wrote about, nor was he "really relevant" to the Panther's current revolutionary struggle.

Newton's relations with the student participants in the colloquium were less good. He apparently felt that "the students weren't with it politically; not that they didn't agree with me—they just didn't know what's happening." On the third day of the colloquium, the students had their opportunity to question the two principals. Most of their questions were directed at Newton—mostly they sought possible links between Newton's revolutionary commitment and their own lives: "How can we as college students relate to your philosophy?" "What does your theory tell us about how we should raise our children?" "How does your philosophy relate to Panther practice?" "What should we do as college students about the war in Vietnam?"

Newton answered the questions with reference to his previously staked out ideological positions. Although obviously frustrated with the tenor and direction of the student queries and feeling somewhat singled out as a target, he nevertheless responded patiently to most questions. Eventually, the students' questions became almost total paraphrases of questions previously asked: Newton's answers were paraphrases as well. The "dialogue" withered. Finally, after three hours, one student made an impassioned personal statement that the time for commitment had come; Newton had

obviously chosen to "pick up the gun," and it was time for each student to decide if he too was willing to make that commitment. "Right on!" mumbled Huey and excused himself to go to the bathroom as the colloquium ended.



Some of the students felt that Newton hadn't been entirely fair to their questions—that he had pulled words out of context without responding to the sense of their queries. They also felt that Newton's answers rarely went beyond his already thought-out ideology. On the other hand, if Newton was occasionally testy, it could be blamed on what Chester Kerr called "careless language" by some students. At one point, for example, a student asked Newton how he could possibly explain his intricate ideological system to the masses of the ghetto and middle America. "But I'm from the ghetto," Newton replied. "But you're intelligent." Here a hard smile played on Newton's lips. Half-laughing he said, "Let's take a break." One black student interjected, "Some people would call that a racist remark. I won't, but some people could."

Thus the decision by Kai Erikson and Elting Morison to avoid choosing "heavy political people," the hope of avoiding the cant of radical rhetoric, seemed to have backfired. Because almost none of the students shared Newton's

ideological commitments, they belabored precisely the point: Newton's commitment and their distance from it. Virtually none of their questions was directed toward Newton's theoretical development of intercommunalism; nobody challenged him on the philosophical underpinning on which he based his ideology. Newton reportedly had come to Yale to be "intellectually challenged on his philosophy not on his revolutionary tactics." What could Yale students—surely among those from whom the expropriated will expropriate—tell Huey P. Newton of revolutionary tactics?

The students were caught up in a self-construed dilemma about whether "to pick up the gun"—a dilemma certainly irrelevant to any real considerations in most of their lives. These Yale students—who prided themselves on their keen intellectual grasp—practically ignored the intellectual content of Newton's thinking to become engrossed in the emotionalism of his revolutionary appeal.

Thus they ignored their golden opportunity to develop the Newton-Erikson dialogue, the colloquium's real potential. Each of the principals had essentially delivered a position paper; neither seemed willing to question the other sharply in the colloquium's public forum—probably to avoid the dangers of "confrontation." The students could have acted as intermediaries between the two men to provoke their thinking on the important issues that the colloquium had raised: the development of revolu-

tionary identity and commitment, both philosophically and psychologically, and the illumination of those subtle areas where Marx and Freud speak to each other in theory and practice.

But they didn't. Almost all their questions were on the ideological level, where they had least to say to Newton; none of the questions led Newton and Erikson into a discussion of the philosophy that was the foundation of Newton's ideology. Could this impasse have resulted from the students' unconscious belief that a black revolutionary couldn't really think and talk philosophy? Could it have resulted from the students' own paucity of thought? Ideally



the students might have stood as the third leg of a triangle connecting these two important men; instead they stood between them, thwarting the deliberative process that Huey Newton and Erik Erikson had sought.

What began at Yale, however, didn't end there. Eight weeks later Erik Erikson and Huey Newton met again, this time in Newton's Oakland apartment. There, joined only by Kai Erikson and one associate of Newton's, they discussed in more open terms those matters of ideology and personal development that had been missing at Yale. Though they agreed that the Yale meeting had been "too big a circus," they also agreed that it was the beginning, for them, of a relationship that



Mr. Tolson\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Sullivan\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Bishop\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. BrennanCD\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Casper\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Dalbey\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Felt\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gale\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Walters\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Soyars\_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room\_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes\_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy\_\_\_\_\_

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

FJMOO

NR 010 SF CODE

JUN 2 1971

8:13PM NITEL 6/2/71 JAK

TELETYPE

TO DIRECTOR (105-165429)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 6-26-87 BY 40502/UP

LOS ANGELES

FROM SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203) 1P

HUEY P. NEWTON, AKA RM DASH BPP (KBE).

SOURCE ADVISED JUNE TWO INSTANT SUBJECT AND [REDACTED]

JOHN SEALE

WILL DEPART SAN FRANCISCO AT EIGHT THIRTY P.M., JUNE TWO INSTANT,  
ON PSA ~~FLIGHT~~ FIVE FOUR TWO ENROUTE TO LOS ANGELES,  
CALIFORNIA. TO ARRIVE NINE FORTY P.M.

SOURCE REPORTED NEWTON WILL VISIT [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] IN LOS ANGELES AND WILL CONFER WITH [REDACTED] WHO

SOURCE UNDERSTANDS IS PRESNETLY AT [REDACTED] RESIDENCE.

SOURCE BELIEVES PURPOSE [REDACTED] TRIP IS TO TAKE

[REDACTED] IN LOS ANGELES.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

RE SFTELCALLS TO LA, THIS DATE.

SOURCE IS [REDACTED]

LOS ANGELES WILL FOLLOW AND REPORT ACTIVITIES OF

NEWTON AND [REDACTED] WHILE IN LOS ANGELES. REC-34

END...

HOLD

62 JUN 10 1971

b2  
b6  
b7C

436

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JUN 7 1971

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Brennan	CD
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Dalbey	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Walters	_____
Mr. Soyars	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

NR 001 SF PLAIN

12/18PM NITEL 6/6/71 FCO

TO: DIRECTOR (105--165429)

NEW HAVEN

NEW YORK

FROM: SAN FRANCISCO (157--1203)

HUEY P. NEWTON; AKA RM-BPP (KBE)

SUBJECT; JOHN SEALE, SUBJECT'S BODY GUARD AND BROTHER OF  
BPP CHAIRMAN, BOBBY SEALE; [REDACTED]

b6  
b7C

[REDACTED] DEPARTED SAN FRANCISCO INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT  
ON AMERICAN AIRLINES FLIGHT NO. EIGHTEEN, AT TEN FIFTEEN P.M.,  
JUNE SIX, INSTANT, ENROUTE TO JOHN F KENNEDY AIRPORT,  
NEW YORK, TO ARRIVE SIX FIFTEEN, A.M. JUNE SEVEN, NEXT  
JOHN SEALE WAS CARRING TWO LARGE METAL FILM CONTAINERS WHICH PROBABLY  
CONTAINED FEATURE LENGTH FILM ABOUT FRED HAMPTON.

INFORMATION RECEIVED FROM SOURCES INDICATE PROPOSE OF SUBJECT'S  
TRIP POSSIBLE IS TO MEET WITH MAKERS OF FILM "SWEET SWEETBACK."

ADMINISTRATIVE:

DEPARTURE OF ABOVE INDIVIDUALS OBSERVED BY SA [REDACTED]

b6  
b7C

NEW YORK AND NEW HAVEN ALERT SOURCES OF SUBJECT'S TRAVELS  
TO THOSE AREAS AND FOLLOW AND REPORT OF SUBJECT.

END

DCW

60 JUN 11 1971

F B I

Date: 5/25/71

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (157-2702) (RM)

SUBJECT: HUEY P. NEWTON  
RM - BPP  
KBEALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10-31-80 BY 103 DB/A  
105-165429-729  
BP 5/14/71

ReNYtel to Bu and SF, 5/15/71.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 5 copies of a LHM relating to the appearance of the captioned individual on the David Frost Television Show, 5/14/71.

Also enclosed is one copy of a tape recording such appearance. The original tape is being maintained by the NYO in the 1-B Section of captioned file.

Since no investigation remains outstanding in NY concerning the captioned individual, this case is marked RUC.

- 2 - Bureau (Encls. 5) (RM)
- 2 - San Francisco (Encls. 2) (RM)
- 1 - New York (100-161993)
- 1 - New York

EX-113

REC-6

TEB:eps  
(7)

105-165429-438

1cc 806 / det. LA 6/1/71  
6 ENCLOSURE per 245  
Copies to 150, SS  
5/26/71  
JLA/jm

1cc 10/80

F444

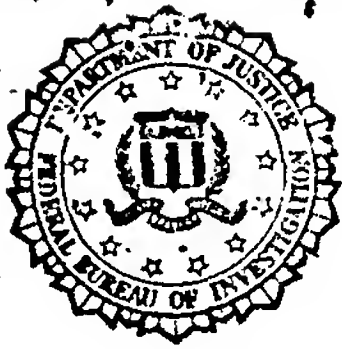
57 JUN 14 1971

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

b6  
b7c





UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

New York, New York  
May 25, 1971

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 10-31-80 BY SP3 DAK/g  
6-26-87 SP5 A/TPT

Huey P. Newton  
Racial Matters - Black Panther Party

A characterization of  
the Black Panther Party  
(BPP) is attached hereto.

On May 14, 1971, Huey P. Newton appeared on the  
David Frost Television Show broadcasted over Channel 5  
WNEW TV, New York, New York.

Huey P. Newton initially thanked the people for fighting  
for him while he was previously incarcerated since their  
efforts resulted in his subsequent release.

Newton then went on to relate that the National  
Association For The Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)  
had performed admirably for its time and place in history.  
If there were no NAACP, there might not be today any BPP.  
Newton noted that no one organization has all the answers and  
that the leadership of the BPP was acutely aware of this.

Newton noted that in the past he was always  
embarrassed by the title Supreme Commander of the BPP and  
therefore, his title has been changed to Defense Minister  
of the BPP and Servant of the People.

Change is an inevitable product of history and those  
who are afraid of change are for the status quo. He noted  
all ideas and groups must change with history and defined  
revolution as the process which wipes out the old and plants  
the new. The BPP itself does not plot per se to do anything  
against the established order; however, such plotting as it

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions  
of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to  
your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed  
outside your agency.

44-1127-438  
ENCLOSURE



Huey P. Newton

exists arises out of the experience of the black community.

He noted that he himself was in favor of non-violence; however, drew the distinction between the violence of the aggressor and the self-defense of the victim. The United States in his estimation is the primary aggressor in the world.

Newton noted that there were approximately 38 chapters and branches of the BPP throughout the country. The Harlem branch of the BPP left the party and is no longer associated with the BPP. Newton related that Eldridge Cleaver has done some very strange things in the recent past but has however made contributions to the party in the past. He recognizes that if it were not for Cleaver the party would probably not be where it is today.

Huey P. Newton defined the BPP as an organization which presents an organized structure through which the people can vent desires and pursue their goals.

Newton declined to describe Eldridge Cleaver as an Agent of the Government and/or the CIA just because "he might be upset with him from time to time." Contradictions he noted are necessary for progress

Newton declared that the BPP wants the community to challenge the status quo and the party would serve as its voice and use strategies from time to time to insure the attention of the establishment.

Newton observed that policemen are workers also and that he himself seldom used the word "pig". The term "pig" is a matter of semantics and is the response of the victim to the aggressor. It is a rhetorical phrase utilized by the party to heighten the awareness of the black community. Newton stated that it was his hope that the development of the BPP was not in an antagonistic fashion but realized that contradiction is a principle of the universe. He noted that the real problem in the world today is that the people want to control their institutions and retain destiny over their lives.

Huey P. Newton

Newton concluded his forty-five minute appearance with the statement that the police were probably responsible for the recent murder of New York City BPP functionary Sam Napier. He admitted that he has no direct evidence of such involvement by the police in Napier's murder, however, he has evidence that the police are capable of such behavior.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JUN -7 1971

TELETYPE

NR005 NY CODE

345 PM URGENT 6-7-71 JPM

TO DIRECTOR 105-165429

ATT: DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

NEW HAVEN

SAN FRANCISCO 157-1203)

FROM NEW YORK 157-2702 2P

HUEY P. NEWTON, AKA; RM-BPP (KBE).

Mr. Tolson\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Sullivan\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Bishop\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Brennan\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Casper\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. DeLoach\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Felt\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gale\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Walters\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Soyars\_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room\_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes\_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy\_\_\_\_\_

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 6-7-82 BY SP5

CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE, WHO HAS PROVIDED RELIABLE INFORMATION  
IN THE PAST, ADVISED ELEVEN FIFTEEN A.M. INSTANT THAT  
INFORMATION HAD BEEN RECEIVED CONCERNING AN INQUIRY BY THE NEW  
HAVEN CHAPTER OF THE BPP CONCERNING WHETHER THE "GROUP" WAS  
THEN ENROUTE TO NEW HAVEN. THE SO-CALLED GROUP ARRIVED AT  
JOHN F. KENNEDY AIRPORT THIS A. M. AND ACCORDING TO SOURCE, HAD  
NOT AS YET LEFT FOR NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

EX 101

REC 43

439

15 JUN 9 1971

RESFTEL JUNE SEVEN INSTANT, CAPTIONED AS ABOVE.

NEW YORK SOURCE IS

b2  
b7D

GROUP IS BELIEVED IDENTICAL TO THOSE DESCRIBED IN RETEL. NEW  
HAVEN REMAIN ALERT FOR POSSIBLE ARRIVAL OF SUBJECT AND ASSOCIATES

END PAGE ONE

PAGE TWO

IN NEW HAVEN DURING P. M. INSTANT. NEW YORK ATTEMPTING TO SECURE  
ADDITIONAL DETAILS REGARDING SUBJECT'S PLANS. NYCPD ADVISED.

NEW YORK FOLLOWING.

END

TRC FBI WDC



F B I

Date: 6/4/71

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL  
(Priority)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 6-26-82 BY SP5

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165429)  
FROM: *REG* SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203)  
SUBJECT: HUEY PERCY NEWTON aka  
RM - BPP  
(KEY BLACK EXTREMIST)  
OO: San Francisco

b6  
b7C

*Jr* Re Springfield airtel to Bureau dated 5/25/71.

San Francisco has received no information as of this date to indicate that NEWTON will travel to Cairo, Illinois to participate in the Second Annual National Survival Day activities on 6/19/71. Appropriate sources have been alerted and any information developed indicating that NEWTON will travel to Cairo will be immediately furnished to the Springfield Office.

For information of Springfield, in the past, on a few occasions when NEWTON had speaking engagements scheduled in the mid-west he did not appear and a representative of the Chicago BPP Office appeared in his place. If not already done, Springfield should consider advising Chicago concerning the activities in Cairo on 6/19/71 so Chicago can alert appropriate sources in the event a representative from the Chicago BPP Office is selected to speak in Cairo.

EX 101

REC-13

105-165429-440

2 - Bureau (RM)  
1 - Chicago (Info) (RM)  
2 - Springfield (157-2431) (RM)  
2 - San Francisco  
JC/jln  
(7) *1cc 806*

2 JUN 8 1971

b6  
b7C

RACIAL  
A. SECT.

Approved: *REG* *F397* Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JUN 9 1971

NR 011 SF PLAIN TEXT

9:34PM NITEL 6/8/71 CRH

**TELETYPE**

TO: DIRECTOR (105-165429)

NEW HAVEN

NEW YORK

FROM: SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 6-26-82 BY SP5 GJt

HUEY P. NEWTON, AKA., RM - BPP (KBE).

Mr. Tolson\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Sullivan\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Bishop\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Brennan CD\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Casper\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Dalbey\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Felt\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gale\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Walters\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Soyars\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy\_\_\_\_

b6  
b7C

SUBJECT, JOHN SEALE, NEWTON'S BODYGUARD AND BROTHER OF BPP  
CHAIRMAN BOBBY SEALE, AND [REDACTED]  
ARRIVED SAN FRANCISCO INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT ON AMERICAN  
AIRLINES FLIGHT ONE FOUR FIVE AT FIVE FORTY P.M., JUNE EIGHT  
INSTANT, FROM NEW YORK CITY. THEY WERE MET BY KNOWN BPP  
MEMBER FROM OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

EX-115

RENYTELCAL, JUNE EIGHT INSTANT REC-8

ARRIVAL OF ABOVE INDIVIDUALS OBSERVED BY SAS [REDACTED]

b6  
b7C

ACTIVITIES OF SUBJECT WILL BE CLOSELY FOLLOWED AND THE  
BUREAU KEPT ADVISED OF PERTINENT INFORMATION.

END

REC 4:

REMFBI WASH DC CLR

RACIAL SECT.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

Mr. Tolson\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Sullivan\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Bishop\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Brennan\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Casper\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Dalbey\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Felt\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gale\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Walters\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Soyars\_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room\_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes\_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy\_\_\_\_\_

NR 052 NY CODE

JUN 8 1971

812 URGENT 6-8-71 KEH

TELETYPE

TO DIRECTOR (105-165429)

ATTENTION DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

NEW HAVEN

SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203)

FROM NEW YORK (157-2702)

HUEY P. NEWTON AKA; RM - BPP (KBE).

b6  
b7C

[REDACTED] AMERICAN AIRLINES, NEW YORK CITY, ADVISED THREE THIRTY P.M. INSTANT DATE THAT THE SUBJECT, HUEY NEWTON, WAS A LAST MINUTE PASSENGER ABOARD AMERICAN AIRLINES FLIGHT ONE FOUR FIVE WHICH DEPARTED JFK AIRPORT, NEW YORK CITY, THREE P.M. INSTANT, ARRIVING SAN FRANCISCO NINE FORTY-FIVE P.M. PACIFIC TIME. HUEY NEWTON WAS TRAVELING ALONE.

AT THREE FIFTEEN P.M. INSTANT A CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE, WHO HAS PROVIDED RELIABLE INFORMATION IN THE PAST, ADVISED THAT [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] A BPP FUNCTIONARY IN THE NEW YORK CITY AREA, HAD INQUIRED OF [REDACTED] IN NEW YORK

CITY ON SUCH DATE AS TO THE WHEREABOUTS OF NEWTON. [REDACTED] INDICATED HE HAD HAD NO CONTACT WITH NEWTON AND WAS UNAWARE OF

HIS CURRENT ACTIVITIES AND OR WHEREABOUTS. [REDACTED] REVEALED THAT

HE HAD LAST BEEN CONTACTED BY NEWTON DURING THE EARLY A.M. OF JUNE SEVEN LAST.

END PAGE ONE  
7 (JUN 21 1971)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 10/29/80 BY SP3 DB/CA  
6-26-87 5,556/CA

REC 43

105-165429-442

b6  
b7C

5 JUN 14 1971

PAGE TWO

(157-2702)

ADMINISTRATIVE

REFERENCE NEW YORK TELEPHONE CALL TO SAN FRANCISCO INSTANT  
AND NY TEL TO ABOVE OFFICES JUNE SEVEN LAST, CAPTIONED AS ABOVE.

[REDACTED] PROVIDED THE ABOVE INFORMATION TO SUPERVISOR

b2  
b6  
b7C  
b7D

[REDACTED]  
NEW YORK SOURCE IS NEW YORK [REDACTED]

E N D

MKA FBI WASH DC



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JUN 12 1971

TELETYPE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 6-26-87 BY SP5 GPT

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Dalbey \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Soyars \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Beaver \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

b6  
b7C

NR 007 SF PLAINTEXT

12:00PM NITEL 6/11/71 CRH

TO: DIRECTOR (105-165429) (ATTENTION: IDENT DIVISION)  
FROM: SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203)

HUEY PERCY NEWTON, AKA., RM - BPP (KBE).

OAKLAND, CALIF., POLICE DEPARTMENT. ATTEMPTING TO LOCATE

NEGRO MALE, BORN

POSSIBLY

AS WITNESS TO TESTIFY IN THE RETRIAL OF

SUBJECT FOR MANSLAUGHTER SCHEDULED TO COMMENCE JUNE TWENTYEIGHT  
NEXT. ATTEMPTS TO LOCATE HAVE MET WITH NEGATIVE  
RESULTS. OAKLAND POLICE DEPARTMENT REQUESTS FILES OF IDENT  
DIVISION BE SEARCHED TO DETERMINE IF HAS ARREST

RECORD AND FOR ANY INFORMATION THAT MAY AID IN LOCATING HIM.

BUREAU REQUESTED TO SEARCH FILES OF IDENTIFICATION DIVISION  
FOR ARREST RECORD FOR AND IMMEDIATELY ADVISE SAN  
FRANCISCO OF RESULTS.

END

9)S

HOLD

REC.D-TELETYPE UNIT

b6  
b7C

JUN 16 1971

30

A

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JUN 4 1971

TELETYPE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 6-26-87 BY [signature]

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Brennan CB [initials]  
Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Dalbey \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Soyars \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

NR 021 SF CODE

9:24PM NITEL 6/3/71 JAK

TO DIRECTOR (105-165429) (ATTN: D.I.D.)

LOS ANGELES

FROM SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203) 1P

HUEY PERCY NEWTON, AKA, RM-BPP (KBE).

SOURCE REPORTED SUBJECT, JOHN SEALE, AND [redacted]

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[redacted] RETURNED TO OAKLAND, CALIF., FROM LOS ANGELES,  
CALIF., ON PSA FLIGHT AT TWO TEN P.M., JUNE THREE INSTANT.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

RESFTEL JUNE TWO LAST.

SOURCE IS [redacted]

b2

SAN FRANCISCO WILL CONTINUE TO FOLLOW ACTIVITIES OF  
NEWTON AND WILL KEEP THE BUREAU ADVISED.

END...

HOLD

EX 101

REC 27

JUN 15 1971

51 JUN 21 1971

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b7C

FBI

Date: 6/10/71

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via A I R T E L A I R M A I L  
(Priority)

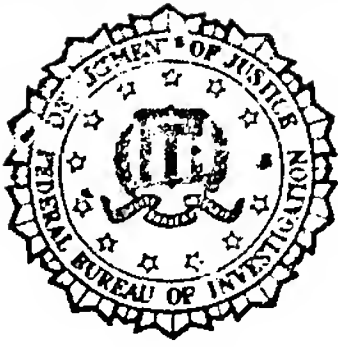
TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165429)

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203)

HUEY PERCY NEWTON, aka  
RM - BPP (KBE)Enclosed for the Bureau are eight (8) copies of  
an LHM containing an article written by subject.ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 6-26-87 BY SP5CJ/otCopy to 1SD, SS  
by routing slip for  
☒ info ☐ action  
date 6/16/71  
by JLA/jr2 - Bureau (Encls. 8) (RM)  
2 - San Francisco  
JLC/jr  
(4) 1cc 806  
4 destroyed  
ENCLOSUREApproved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

b6  
b7Cb6  
b7C



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

San Francisco, California

June 10, 1971

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

The June 5, 1971, issue of "The Black Panther", official weekly publication of the Black Panther Party (BPP), contained the following article written by Newton:

The BPP is a black extremist organization started in Oakland, California, in December, 1966. It advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics to bring about the overthrow of the United States Government.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 6-26-87 BY SP5CJ/dt

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This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

ENCLOSURE

445



Black Panther Intercommunal News Service, June 5, 1971

# BLACK CAPITALISM RE - ANALYZED

BY HUEY P. NEWTON,  
MINISTER OF DEFENSE BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
SERVANT OF THE PEOPLE

~~This~~ is a dialogue in our continuing discussion of the new thrust of the Black Panther Party as we begin to carry out the original vision of the Party. When we coined the expression "All Power to the People", we had in mind emphasizing the word "Power", for we recognize that the will to power is the basic drive of man. But it is incorrect to seek power over people. We have been subjected to the dehumanizing power of exploitation and racism for hundreds of years; and the Black community has its own will to power also. What we seek, however, is not power over people, but the power to control our own destiny. For us the true definition of power is not in terms of how many people you can control, to us power is the ability to first of all define phenomena, and secondly the ability to make these phenomena act in a desired manner.

We see then that power has a dual character--we cannot simply identify and define phenomena without acting, for to do so is to become an arm-chair philosopher. And when Bobby and I left Merritt College to organize brothers on the block, we did so because the college students were too content to sit around and analyze without acting. On the other hand, power includes action, for it is making phenomena perform in the desired manner. But action without thinking and theory is also incorrect, for if the social forces at work in the community have not been correctly analyzed and defined, how can you control them in such a way that

they act in a desired manner. So the Black Panther Party has always merged theory and practice in such a way as to serve the true interests of the community.

In merging theory with practice we recognized that it was necessary to develop a theory which was not good for one time and place and not another. We wanted to develop a system of thinking which was good anywhere--thus it had to be rather abstract. Yet our theory would relate to a concrete analysis of concrete conditions, so that our actions would always be relevant and profitable to the people while at the same time advancing their thinking so that they would move toward a transformation of their situation of exploitation and oppression. So we have always insisted on good theory and good practice; but we have not always been successful in carrying this through.

When the Black Panther Party defected from the Black community, we became, for a while, revolutionary cultists. One of the primary characteristics of a revolutionary cultist is that he despises everyone who has not reached his level of consciousness--or the level of consciousness that he thinks he is at, instead of acting to bring the people to that level. In that way the revolutionary cultist becomes divided from the people--he defects from the community. Instead of serving the people as a vanguard, he becomes a hero. Heroes engage in very courageous actions sometimes, and they often make great sacrifices,



including the supreme sacrifice, but they are still isolated from the people. Their courageous actions and sacrifices do not lead the people to a higher level of consciousness, nor do they produce fundamental changes in the exploitation and oppression of the people. A vanguard, however, will guide the people into higher levels of consciousness and in that way bring them to the point where they will take sterner actions in their own interests and against those who continue to oppress them. As I've said previously, revolution is a process not a conclusion. A true revolutionist will not only take courageous actions, he will also try to advance the people in such a manner that they will transform their situation. That is, delivering power to the people, for the true revolutionist, will help them define the social phenomena in operation in their community and then lead them to the point where they will seize the time and make these phenomena act in a desired manner.

Therefore as revolutionaries, we must recognize the difference between what the people can do and what they will do. They can do anything they desire to do, but they will only take those actions which are consistent with their level of consciousness and their understanding of the situation. When we raise their consciousness, they will understand even more fully what they in fact can do, and they will move on the situation in a courageous manner. This is merging your theory with your practices.

As we focus upon our theoretical analysis of the situation, we can become

too abstract and separate from reality; but the people are the reality--they are more in touch with the reality, and most of the time they reluctantly accept the reality. Then they develop certain defense mechanisms to cope with it and manipulate it, believing that it will be like this all the time with little change. What they don't realize is that it is changing all the time, sometimes more slowly than at other times, yet the situation is in a constant state of transformation. And the people lack an ideology, or a system of thinking, which will help them to analyze the changes. Therefore this leaves another power and other interests to shape the changes, rather than making the changes subject to the power of the people.

Therefore it is necessary to develop a system of thinking to analyze things, so we can find out what to do in order to produce a change in the desired manner and direction. Panther ideology is based upon dialectical materialism, which holds that contradictions are the ruling principle of the universe. That is, all phenomena, all social forces have both a positive and negative quality, which are constantly struggling with each other for dominance. These opposing qualities are unified within the same phenomena. It is this unity of the opposites and their continued struggle which gives motion to matter and maintains the constant state of transformation which produces change.

We recognize that these opposites have a dominant-subordinate relationship to each other. A qualitative

transformation occurs when there is a sufficient quantitative increase or decrease in one of these positive and negative or dominant-subordinate qualities. In the inherent struggle of the opposites, in which one of the qualities increases while the other decreases, both forces reach a nodal point and there is a reversal in their dominance. This reversal is a qualitative change. However, because all phenomena have internal contradictions, a new struggle begins and it will eventually bring a new reversal. This is the nature of the constant state of transformation of material phenomena. Our theoretical analysis of history and the present day has given us a better understanding of the contradictions in all phenomena.

When we attempt to integrate our theory with our practice, we must do so with the fullest understanding of this unity of the opposites which gives motion to matter. What we want to do is develop strategies and programs which use this understanding in the true interests of the exploited and oppressed communities. If power is the ability to define phenomena and then make them act in a desired manner, we must constantly exercise such power in the interests of the people. First of all we define or identify the positive and negative qualities in all phenomena in our communities. Secondly, we act to increase the positive side of these phenomena and decrease the negative, until we transform the situation by having the positive completely dominate the negative.

This is what revolution is about. Basically, it is a process of struggle between the old and the new, with the new attempting to gain dominance, while the old struggles to maintain control. In moving to direct and control the social forces active in our communities we are guided only by our ideology and the true interests of the people. We are free of any other controls, because we do not have any vested interests in the status quo. Our interest is to serve the people by helping them transform their reality, rather than reluctantly accepting it.

Point 3 of the original 10-point program of the Black Panther Party is, "We want an end to the robbery by the CAPITALIST of our Black Community." That was our position in October 1966 and it is still our position. We recognize that capitalism is no solution to the problems we face in our communities. Capitalist exploitation is one of the basic causes of our problem. It is the goal of the Black Panther Party to negate capitalism in our communities and in the oppressed communities throughout the world.

However, many people have offered the community Black capitalism as a solution to our problems. We recognize that people in the Black community have no general dislike for the concept of Black capitalism, but this is not because they are in love with capitalism. Not at all. The idea of Black capitalism has come to mean to many people Black control of another one of the



institutions in the community. We see within this characteristic the seeds of the negation of Black capitalism and all capitalism in general. What we must do then is increase the positive qualities until they dominate the negative and therefore transform the situation.

In the past the Black Panther Party took a counter-revolutionary position with our blanket condemnation of Black capitalism. Our strategy should have been to analyze the positive and negative qualities of this phenomenon before making any condemnation. Even though we recognized, and correctly so, that capitalism is no solution or answer, we did not make a truly dialectical analysis of the situation.

We recognized that in order to bring the people to the level of consciousness where they would seize the time, it would be necessary to serve their interests in survival by developing programs which would help them to meet their daily needs. For a long time we have had such programs not only for survival, but for organizational purposes. Now we not only have a breakfast program for school children, we have clothing programs, we have health clinics which provide free medical and dental services, we have programs for prisoners and their families, and we are opening clothing and shoe factories to provide for more of the needs of the community. Most recently we have begun a testing and research program on sickle-cell anemia, and we know that 98 percent of the victims of this disease are Black. To fail to combat this disease is to submit to genocide; to battle it is survival.

All these programs satisfy the deep needs of the community but they are not solutions to our problems. That is why we call them survival programs, meaning survival pending revolution. We say that the survival program of the Black Panther Party is like the survival kit of a sailor stranded on a raft. It helps him to sustain himself until he can get completely out of that situation. So the survival programs are not answers or solutions, but they will help us to organize the community around a true analysis and understanding of their situation. When consciousness and understanding is raised to a high level then the community will seize the time and deliver themselves from the boot of their oppressors.

All our survival programs are free. We have never charged the community a dime to receive the things they need from any of our programs and we will not do so. We will not get caught up in a lot of embarrassing questions or paperwork which alienate the people. If they have a need, we will serve their needs and attempt to get them to understand the true reasons why they are in need in such an incredibly rich land. Survival programs will always be operated without charge to those who need them and benefit by them.

In order to carry out such programs we have always needed money. In the past we received money from wealthy white philanthropists, humanitarians and heirs to the corporate monopolies. At the same time we were engaging in a blanket condemnation of the small, victimized Black capitalists found in

our communities. This tactic was wrong, when we received the money for our survival programs from big white capitalists; and we freely admit to that.

When we say that we see within Black capitalism the seeds of its own negation and the negation of all capitalism, we recognize that the small Black capitalist in our communities has the potential to contribute to the building of the machine which will serve the true interests of the people and end all exploitation. By increasing the positive qualities of the Black capitalist, we may be able to bring about a non-antagonistic solution of his contradiction with the community, while at the same time heightening the oppressed community's contradiction with the large corporate capitalist empire. This will intensify the antagonistic contradiction between the oppressed community and the empire; and by heightening that contradiction, there will subsequently be a violent transformation of the corporate empire. We will do this through our survival programs which have the interest of the community at heart.

We now see the Black capitalist as having a similar relationship to the Black community as the national bourgeoisie have to the people in national wars of decolonization. In wars of decolonization the national bourgeoisie supports the freedom struggles of the people because they recognize that it is in their own selfish interest. Then when the foreign exploiter has been kicked out, the national bourgeoisie

takes his place and continues the exploitation. However, the national bourgeoisie is a weaker group, even though they are exploiters. Therefore the people are in a better position to wipe the national bourgeoisie away after they have assisted the people in wiping out the foreign exploiters. (NOTE: Our analysis of the new conditions in the world, which are revealed in our development of the concept of Reactionary Intercommunalism, indicates that under the present circumstances the national bourgeoisie and their domestic equivalents are in a weaker position now than they were when they were in a state of colonialism or just freed from colonialism. This is because under Reactionary Intercommunalism the national bourgeoisie is in control of a smaller unit (a community) than before. Not only does this make them weaker, it also makes it more likely that a non-antagonistic transformation of their contradiction can take place because the objective interests of the national bourgeoisie are in many ways similar to those of the people who are victimized.)

Since the people see Black capitalism in the community as Black control of local institutions, this is a positive characteristic, because the people can bring more direction and focus to the activities of the capitalist. At the same time the Black capitalist who has the interest of the community at heart will respond to the needs of the people, because this is where his true strength lies. So far as capitalism in general is concerned, the Black capitalist



merely has the status of a victim, because the big white capitalists have the skills, they make the loans, and they in fact control the Black capitalist. If he wants to succeed in his enterprise, the Black capitalist must turn to the community, because he depends on them to make his profit. He needs this strong community support because he cannot become independent of the control of the corporate capitalists who control the large monopolies.

The Black capitalist will be able to support the people through contributing to the survival programs of the Black Panther Party. In contributing to such programs, he will be able to help build the vehicle which will eventually liberate the Black community. He will not be able to deliver the people from their problems, but he will be able to help build the strong political machine which will serve as a revolutionary vanguard and guide the people in their move toward freedom.

Our re-analysis of Black capitalism and its relationship to the community from the perspective of dialectical materialism, and our practical understanding of the needs of the community and the attitudes of the people toward Black capitalism leads us to a new position. Black businesses which have the interests of the community at heart will be able to contribute to the people through the community programs of the Black Panther Party. These free programs will help the community to survive and thus deter the

genocide which is always a threat to our existence here.

In return for these contributions, the Black Panther Party will carry advertisements of these businesses in our paper and urge the community to support them. We will never sell advertising space in the paper, but we will give space in return for contributions to the survival programs which are given free to the community. In this way we will achieve a greater unity of the community of victims, the people who are victimized by the society in general, and the Black capitalists who are victimized by the corporate capitalist monopolies. In this way we will increase the positive qualities of Black capitalism until they dominate the negative qualities, and exploitation will no longer be the reality which the community reluctantly accepts.

The community will see those who support their survival, and, patronize their places of business. At the same time the community will also criticize those who refuse to participate in their survival programs, and, turn their backs on them. If the establishment tries to come down hard on those businessmen who support the survival programs, then the community will recognize this as another form of oppression and will move to strongly defend their supporters. In that way the consciousness of the people and the level of the struggle will be advanced.

There is no salvation in capitalism, but through this new approach, the

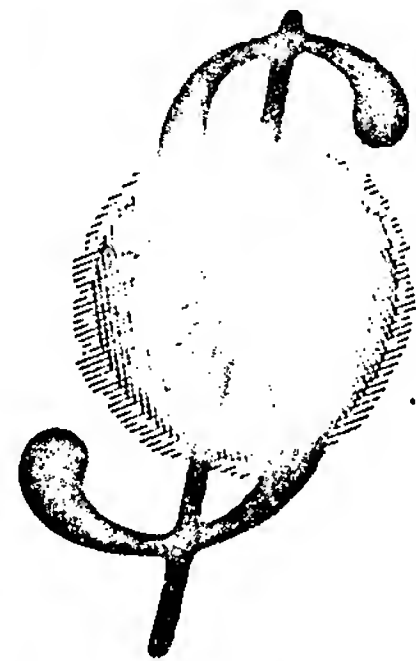
*Black capitalist will contribute to his own negation by helping to build a strong political vehicle which is guided by revolutionary concepts and serves as a vanguard for the people, serving their interests in their communities and advocating their interests before others. In a way our new position has the simplicity and completeness of a mathematical formula. When the Black capitalist contributes to the survival programs and makes a contribution to the community, the community will give him their support and thus strengthen his business. If he does not make any contribution to the survival of the community, the people will not support him and his enterprise will wither away because of his own negligence. By supporting the community, however, he will be helping to build the political machine which will eventually negate his exploitation of the community, but also negate his being exploited and victimized by corporate capitalism.*

*So we will heighten the contradiction between the Black community and corporate capitalism, while at the same time reducing the contradiction between the Black capitalist and the Black community. In this way Black capitalism will be transformed from a relationship of exploitation of the community to a relationship of service to the community, which will contribute to the survival of everyone.*

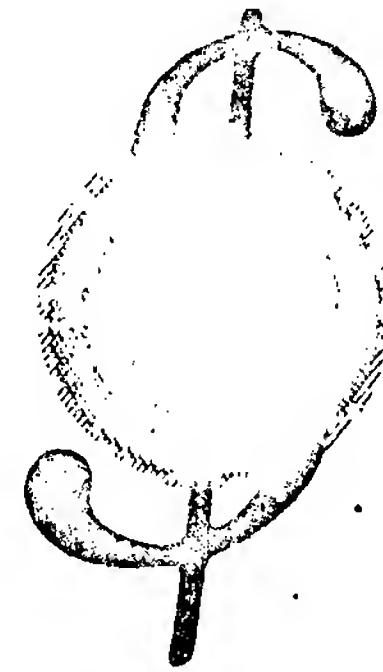
**ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE**



# BLACK CAPITALISM RE-ANALYZED



SERVE THE PEOPLE  
BODY AND SOUL



SERVE THE PEOPLE  
BODY AND SOUL

HUEY P. NEWTON

10\*

FBI

Date: 6/2/71

CAB/WR

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

**ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED**

DATE 5-1-81 BY SP3TAD/CLL  
68687 SP3W/CPX

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165429)  
FROM: SAC, MILWAUKEE (157-1113) (P)  
SUBJECT: HUEY PERCY NEWTON, aka;  
RM - BPP; TREASON (KBE)  
OO: SAN FRANCISCO

Re Milwaukee teletype to Bureau, 4/7/71.

- 2 - Bureau (RM) (AM) (Encs. 11)
- 2 - Baltimore (RM) (AM) (Encs. 2) (157-Huey P. Newton)
- 2 - Boston (RM) (AM) (Encs. 2) (157-Huey P. Newton)
- 6 - Chicago (RM) (Encs. 6) (2 - 157-Huey P. Newton)
- (1 - 157-1291) (BPP)
- (1 - [redacted])
- (1 - [redacted])
- (1 - [redacted])
- 2 - Cleveland (RM) (AM) (157-Huey P. Newton) (Encs. 2)
- 2 - Columbia (RM) (AM) (Encs. 2) (157-Huey P. Newton)
- 2 - Detroit (RM) (AM) (Encs. 2) (157-Huey P. Newton)
- 2 - Indianapolis (RM) (AM) (Encs. 2) (157-Huey P. Newton)
- 2 - Minneapolis (RM) (AM) (Encs. 2) (157-Huey P. Newton)
- 2 - Newark (RM) (AM) (Encs. 2) (157-Huey P. Newton)
- 2 - New York (RM) (AM) (Encs. 2) (157-Huey P. Newton)
- 2 - Philadelphia (RM) (AM) (Encs. 2) (157-Huey P. Newton)
- 2 - St. Louis (RM) (AM) (Encs. 2) (157-Huey P. Newton)
- 7 - San Francisco (RM) (AM) (Encs. 7)
- (2 - 157-3765) (Huey P. Newton)
- (1 - [redacted])
- (1 - 157-1904) (BPP)
- (1 - [redacted])
- (1 - 157-1969) (BPP - Travel of Leadership)
- (1 - 157-1203)

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b7C

ENCLOSURE

EX-114

REC-23

105-165429-446

Cop 6 to Milwaukee (2 - 157-1113)  
by routing slip for (1 - 157-600) (BPP)  
☒ info ☐ action (1 - [redacted])  
date 6/16/71 (1 - 157-926) (UW Afro American Ce  
by TLM/YJ (1 - [redacted])

25 JUN 12 1971

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(43) 7 destroyed F316  
JUN 30 1976

SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR  
ADD. DISSEMINATION

RACIAL V  
NOT RE-SEC.

Approved: H/4

MI 157-1113

Enclosed for Bureau are eleven copies of an LHM concerning a speech by HUEY P. NEWTON, at Madison, Wisconsin, on 4/3/71.

Enclosed for receiving offices are the following copies of LHM:

Baltimore - 2  
Boston - 2  
Chicago - 6  
Cleveland - 2  
Columbia - 2  
Detroit - 2  
Indianapolis - 2  
Minneapolis - 2  
Newark - 2  
New York - 2  
Philadelphia - 2  
St. Louis - 2  
San Francisco - 7.

For the information of Bureau, submission of LHM was delayed primarily to attempt to obtain a tape recorded transcript of NEWTON's speech and secondarily to identify owners of motor vehicles parked in the vicinity of NEWTON's speech.

[redacted] confidential source referred to in enclosed LHM, who attended NEWTON's speech on 4/3/71, advised on 4/5/71, that [redacted] whom he knows personally, promised him a copy of NEWTON's speech which was tape recorded by the University of Wisconsin (UW) Afro American Center.

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On 4/9/71, [redacted] advised that he talked with [redacted] on Saturday, 4/17/71, and was informed that the tape of NEWTON's speech was at Black Panther Party (BPP) Headquarters, in Chicago, where it was being transcribed and that he would furnish him a copy of the transcript.



MI 157-1113

On 5/14/71, [ ] furnished a four page tabloid newspaper which carried the heading, "Black Panther Intercommunal News Service, April 17, 1971," which contained a single article captioned, "On The Defection of Eldridge Cleaver From The Black Panther Party And The Defection Of The Black Panther Party From The Black Community," by HUEY P. NEWTON.

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[ ] advised he received this from [ ] on 5/8/71, at which time [ ] advised him this was a complete transcript of NEWTON's speech at Madison. [ ] advised he did not question [ ] as to the source of this newspaper so as not to arouse any suspicion. Source advised, however, after reading the article, that it appears to be essentially the same as what NEWTON said when he spoke at Madison on 4/3/71.

Inasmuch as the paper furnished by [ ] appeared to be a possible special supplementary issue of the Black Panther Newspaper or a possible supplement to a regular issue of the Black Panther Newspaper, [ ] was recontacted on 5/19/71, at which time he stated that he could furnish no further information as to the original source or distribution of the paper.

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In view of fact that [ ] advised the paper contained a transcript of NEWTON's speech at Madison, which was corroborated by [ ] Milwaukee is reporting the article in its entirety in enclosed LHM rather than in synopsis form and is attributing information furnished by [ ] regarding NEWTON's speech as being furnished by the source on the date NEWTON spoke in Madison in order to further protect the source.

Agents who observed NEWTON and his party arrive and depart Madison and who also obtained license numbers on cars parked in the lot near Jay's Bar where NEWTON spoke are SA [ ] and SA [ ]

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The Madison police officer who assisted in obtaining license numbers and who furnished names of owners on out-of-state license plates is [ ] Patrolman, Madison PD.



MI 157-1113

Copies of LHM are being furnished those offices covering out-of-state license numbers which were observed in the area where NEWTON spoke. Milwaukee has checked the current UW Student Directory under surnames of the registered owners of cars with out-of-state licenses and in those instances where a student with the same surname and home address were located, this information was included. Out-of-state license numbers in which the owners have not been identified are being set forth as specific leads. In those instances where it is noted the owner is a student at UW, receiving offices are requested to check indices and advise Milwaukee of positive information.

Milwaukee is indexing the names of registered owners of all cars observed and will also conduct indices search of these names and in the event of any references or main case files, the materials will be reviewed to determine if further investigation is warranted.

LHM is classified "~~Confidential~~" in order to protect confidential source  as information contained in attached LHM could reasonably result in the identification of this source and compromise his future effectiveness.

LEADS

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BOSTON DIVISION

At Boston, Massachusetts

Identify owner of Massachusetts License

NEWARK DIVISION

At Trenton, New Jersey

Identify owner of New Jersey License

PHILADELPHIA DIVISION

b6  
b7C

At Harrisburg, Pennsylvania

Identify owner of Pennsylvania License

ARMED & DANGEROUS



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Milwaukee, Wisconsin  
June 2, 1971

~~"Confidential"~~

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

On April 3, 1971, Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation observed Huey Percy Newton, Supreme Commander, Black Panther Party (BPP), and five members of his entourage, including [redacted]

[redacted] members, Illinois BPP, arrive Madison Airport, 1:00 PM, where they were met by Sam Salter.

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A confidential source, who furnished reliable information in the past, advised [redacted] University of Wisconsin (UW) Afro American Center [redacted] made all of the arrangements for Newton's speech in Madison.

(A characterization of the BPP is attached in the appendix.)

Same source, as previously mentioned, advised on April 3, 1971, that subject and his party arrived at Jay's Bar, Route 51, Madison, at approximately 3:15 PM, where subject spoke before approximately 400 people. Source advised Newton made the following speech:

~~"Confidential"~~ DECLASSIFIED ON 5-1-81

BY SP2 TAP/ada

GROUP I

Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

"This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency."

105-16-446  
ENCLOSURE

Black Panther Intercommunal News Service, April 17, 1971 C.

ON THE DEFECTION OF ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
FROM THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
AND THE DEFECTION OF  
THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
FROM THE BLACK COMMUNITY

By Huey P. Newton,

Minister of Defense of The Black Panther Party and Servant of The People



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The Black Panther Party bases its ideology and philosophy on a concrete analysis of concrete conditions, using dialectical materialism as our analytical method. As dialectical materialists we recognize that contradictions can lead to development. The internal struggle of opposites based upon their unity causes matter to have motion as a part of the process of development. We recognize that nothing in nature stands outside of dialectics, even the Black Panther Party. But we welcome these contradictions, because they clarify and advance our struggle. We had a contradiction with our former Minister of Information, Eldridge Cleaver. But we understand this as necessary to our growth. Out of this contradiction has come new growth and a new return to the original vision of the Party.

Early in the development of the Black Panther Party I wrote an essay titled "The Correct Handling of a Revolution". This was in response to another contradiction - the criticisms raised against the Party by the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM). At that time RAM criticized us for our above-ground action -- openly displaying weapons and talking about the necessity for the community to arm itself for its own self-defense. RAM said that they were underground, and saw this as the correct way to handle a revolution. I responded to them by pointing out that you must establish your organization above ground so that the people will relate to it in a way that will be positive and progressive to them. When you go underground without doing this, you bury yourself so deeply that the people can neither relate to nor contact you. Then the terrorism of the underground organization will be just that--striking fear into the hearts of the very people whose interest the organization claims to be defending--because the people cannot relate to them and there is nobody there to interpret their actions. You have to set up a program of practical action and be a model for the community to follow and appreciate.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The original vision of the Party was to develop a lifeline to the people, by serving their needs and defending them against their oppressors who come to the community in many forms--from armed police to capitalist exploiters. We knew that this strategy would raise the consciousness of the people and also give us their support. Then, if we were driven underground by the oppressors, the people would support us and defend us. They would know that, in spite of the oppressor's interpretations, that our only desire was to serve their true interests; and they would defend us. In this manner we might be forced underground, but there would be a lifeline to the community which would always sustain us, because the people would identify with us and not with our common enemy.

For a time the Black Panther Party lost its vision and defected from the community. With the defection of Eldridge Cleaver, however, we can move again to a full scale development of our original vision and come out of the twilight zone which the Party has been in during the recent past.

The only reason that the Party is still in existence at this time, and the only reason that we have been able to survive the repression of the Party

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and murders of some of our most advanced comrades is because of the Ten-Point Program -- our survival program. Our programs would be meaningless and insignificant if they were not community programs. This is why it is my opinion that as long as the Black community and oppressed people are found in North America the Black Panther Party will last. The Party will survive as a structured vehicle, because it serves the true interests of oppressed people and administers to their needs -- this was the original vision of the Party. The original vision was not structured by rhetoric nor by ideology. It was structured by the practical needs of the people, and its dreamers were armed with an ideology which provided a systematic method of analysis of how best to meet those needs.

When Bobby Seale and I came together to launch the Black Panther Party, we had been through many groups. Most of them were so dedicated to rhetoric and artistic rituals that they had withdrawn from living in the Twentieth Century. Sometimes their analyses were beautiful, but they had no practical programs which would deliver their understandings to the people. When they did try to develop practical programs, they often failed, because they lacked a systematic ideology which would help them do concrete analyses of concrete conditions to gain a full understanding of the community and its needs. When I was in Donald Warden's Afro-American Association, I watched him try to make a reality of community control through Black Capitalism. But Warden did not have a systematic ideology, and his attempts to initiate his program continually frustrated him and the community too. They did not know why capitalism would not work for them, even though it had worked for other ethnic groups.

When we formed the Party, we did so because we wanted to put theory and practice together, in a systematic

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D. Black Panther Intercommunal News Service, April 17, 1971

ON THE DEFECTION OF ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
FROM THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
AND THE DEFECTION OF  
THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
FROM THE BLACK COMMUNITY

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manner. We did this through our basic Ten Point Program. In actuality it was a 20-Point Program, with the practice expressed in "What We Want" and the theory expressed in "What We Believe". This program was designed to serve as a basis for a structured political vehicle.

The actions we engaged in at that time were strictly strategic actions, for political purposes. They were designed to mobilize the community. Any action which does not mobilize the community toward the goal is not a revolutionary action. The action might be a marvelous statement of courage, but if it does not mobilize the people toward the goal of a higher manifestation of freedom, it is not making a political statement and could even be counter-revolutionary.

We realized at a very early point in our development, that revolution is a process. It is not a particular action, nor is it a conclusion. It is a process. This is why when feudalism wiped out slavery, feudalism was revolutionary. This is why when capitalism wiped out feudalism, capitalism was revolutionary. The concrete analysis of concrete conditions will reveal the true nature of the situation and increase our understanding. This process moves in a dialectical manner and we understand the struggle of the opposites based upon their unity.

Many times people say that our Ten-Point Program is reformist; but they ignore the fact that revolution is a process. We left the program open-ended, so that it could develop and people could identify with it. We did not offer it to them as a conclusion; we offered it as a vehicle to move them to a higher level. In their quest for freedom, and in their attempts to prevent the oppressor from stripping them of all the things they need to exist, the people see things as moving from A to B to C; they do not see things as moving from A to Z. In other words they have to see first some basic accomplishments, in order to realize that major successes are possible. Much of the time the revolutionary will

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have to guide them into this understanding. But he can never take them from A to Z in one jump, because it is too far ahead. Therefore, when the revolutionary begins to indulge in Z, or final conclusions, the people do not relate to him. Therefore he is no longer a revolutionary, if revolution is a process. This makes any action or function which does not promote the process - non-revolutionary.

When the Party went to Sacramento, when the Party faced down the policemen in front of the office of Ramparts magazine, and when the Party patrolled the police with arms, we were acting (in 1966) at a time when the people had given up the philosophy of non-violent direct action and were beginning to deal with sterner stuff. We wanted them to see the virtues of disciplined and organized armed self-defense, rather than spontaneous and disorganized outbreaks and riots. There were Police Alert Patrols all over the country, but we were the first armed police patrol. We called ourselves the Black Panther Party for Self Defense. In all of this we had political and revolutionary objectives in mind, but we knew that we could not succeed without the

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support of the people.

Our strategy was based on a consistent ideology, which helped us to understand the conditions around us. We knew that the law was not prepared for what we were doing and policemen were so shocked that they didn't know what to do. We saw that the people felt a new pride and strength because of the example we set for them; and they began to look toward the vehicle we were building for answers.

Later we dropped the term "Self-Defense" from our name and just became the Black Panther Party. We discouraged actions like Sacramento and police observations because we recognized that these were not the things to do in every situation or on every occasion. We never called these revolutionary actions. The only time an action is revolutionary is when the people relate to it in a revolutionary way. If they will not use the example you set, then no matter how many guns you have, your action is not revolutionary.

The gun itself is not necessarily revolutionary, because the fascists carry guns--in fact they have more guns. A lot of so-called revolutionaries simply do not understand the statement by Chairman Mao that "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun." They thought Chairman Mao said political power is the gun, but the emphasis is on grows. The culmination of political power is the ownership and control of the land and the institutions thereon, so that you can then get rid of the gun. That is why Chairman Mao makes the statement that, "We are advocates of the abolition of war, we do not want war; but war can only be abolished through war, and in order to get rid of the gun, it is necessary to take up the gun." He is always speaking of getting rid of it. If he did not look at it in those terms, then he surely would not be revolutionary. In other words, the gun by all revolutionary principles is a tool to be used in our strategy; it is not an end

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in itself. This was a part of the original vision of the Black Panther Party.

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I had asked Eldridge Cleaver to join the Party a number of times. But he did not join until after the confrontation with the police in front of the office of Ramparts Magazine, where the police were afraid to go for their guns. Without my knowledge, he took this as the Revolution and the Party. But in our basic program it was not until Point 7 that we mentioned the gun, and this was intentional. We were trying to build a political vehicle through which the people could express their revolutionary desires. We recognized that no party or organization can make the revolution, only the people can. All we could do was act as a guide to the people. Because revolution is a process, and because the process moves in a dialectical manner. At one point one thing might be proper, but the same action could be improper at another point. We always emphasized a concrete analysis of concrete conditions, and then an appropriate response to these conditions as a way of mobilizing the people and leading them to higher levels of consciousness.

People constantly thought that we were security guards and community police or something like this. This is why we dropped the term "Self Defense" from our name and directed the attention of the people to the fact that the only way they would get salvation is through their control of the institutions which serve the community. This would require that they organize a political vehicle which would keep their support and endorsement through its survival programs of service. They would look to it for answers and guidance. It would not be an organization which runs candidates for political office, but it would serve as a watchman over the administrators whom the people have placed in office.

Because the Black Panther Party grows out of the conditions and needs of oppressed people, we are interested in everything the people are interested

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in, even though we may not see these particular concerns as the final answers to our problems. We will never run for political office, but we will endorse and support those candidates who are acting in the true interests of the people. We may even provide campaign workers for them and do voter registration and basic precinct work. This would not be out of a commitment to electoral politics, however. It would be our way of bringing the will of the people to bear on situations in which they are interested. We will also hold such candidates responsible to the community, no matter how far removed their offices may be from the community. So we lead the people by following their interests, with a view toward raising their consciousness to see beyond particular goals.

When Eldridge joined the Party it was after the police confrontation, which left him fixated with the "either-or" attitude. This was that either the community picked up the gun with the Party or else they were cowards and there was no place for them. He did not realize that if the people did not relate to the Party, then there was no way that the Black Panther Party could make any revolution, because the record shows that the people are the makers of the revolution and of world history.

Sometimes there are those who express personal problems in political terms, and if they are eloquent, then these personal problems can sound very political. We charge Eldridge Cleaver with this. Much of it is probably beyond his control, because it is so personal. But we did not know that when he joined the Party, he was doing so only because of that act in front of Ramparts. We weren't trying to prove anything to ourselves, all we were trying to do, at that particular point, was defend Betty Shabazz. But we were praised by the people.

Under the influence of Eldridge Cleaver the Party gave the community no alternative for dealing with us, except by picking up the gun. This move



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was reactionary simply because the community was not at that point. Instead of being a cultural cult group, we became, by that act, a revolutionary cult group. But this is a basic contradiction, because revolution is a process, and if the acts you commit do not fall within the scope of the process then they are non-revolutionary.

What the revolutionary movement and the Black community needs is a very strong structure. This structure can only exist with the support of the people and it can only get its support through serving them. This is why we have the service to the people program - the most important thing in the Party. We will serve their needs, so that they can survive through this oppression. Then when they are ready to pick up the gun, serious business will happen. Eldridge Cleaver influenced us to isolate ourselves from the Black community, so that it was war between the oppressor and the Black Panther Party, not war between the oppressor and the oppressed community.

The Black Panther Party defected from the community long before Eldridge defected from the Party. Our hook-up with white radicals did not give us access to the white community, because they do not guide the white community. The Black community does not relate to them, so we were left in a twilight zone, where we could not enter the community with any real political education programs; yet we were not doing anything to mobilize whites. We had no influence in raising the consciousness of the Black community and that is the point where we defected.

We went through a free speech movement in the Party, which was not necessary, and only further isolated us from the Black community. We had all sorts of profanity in our paper and every other word which dropped from our lips was profane. This did not happen before I was jailed, because I would not stand for it. But Eldridge's

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influence brought this about. I do not blame him altogether; I blame the Party because the Party accepted it.

Eldridge was never fully in the leadership of the Party. Even after Bobby was snatched away from us, I did not place Eldridge in a position of leadership, because he was not interested in that. I made David Hilliard administrator of programs. I knew that Eldridge would not do anything to lift the consciousness of the comrades in the Party. But I knew that he could make a contribution; and I pressed him to do so. I pressed him to write and edit the paper, but he wouldn't do it. The paper did not even come out every week until after Eldridge went to jail. But Eldridge Cleaver did make great contributions to the Black Panther Party with his writing and speaking. We want to keep this in mind, because there is a positive and negative side to everything.

The correct handling of a revolution is not to offer the people an "either-or" ultimatum. We must instead gain

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the support of the people through serving their needs. Then when the police or any other agency of repression tries to destroy the program, the people will move to a higher level of consciousness and action. Then the organized structure can guide the people to the point where they are prepared to deal in many ways. This was the strategy we used in 1966 when we were related to in a positive way.

So the Black Panther Party has reached a contradiction with Eldridge Cleaver and he has defected from the Party, because we would not order everyone into the streets tomorrow to make a revolution. We recognize that this is impossible because our dialectics or ideology, our concrete analysis of concrete conditions say that it is a fantasy, because the people are not at that point now. This contradiction and conflict may seem unfortunate to some, but it is a part of the dialectical process. The resolution of this contradiction has freed us from incorrect

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analyses and emphases.

We are now free to move toward the building of a community structure which will become a true voice of the people, promoting their interests in many ways. We can continue to push our basic survival program. We can continue to serve the people as advocates of their true interests. We can truly become a political revolutionary vehicle which will lead the people to a higher level of consciousness, so that they will know what they must really do in their quest for freedom, and they will have the courage to adopt any means necessary to seize the time and obtain that freedom.

HUEY P. NEWTON  
MINISTER OF DEFENSE  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY,  
SERVANT OF THE PEOPLE



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~~"Confidential"~~

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

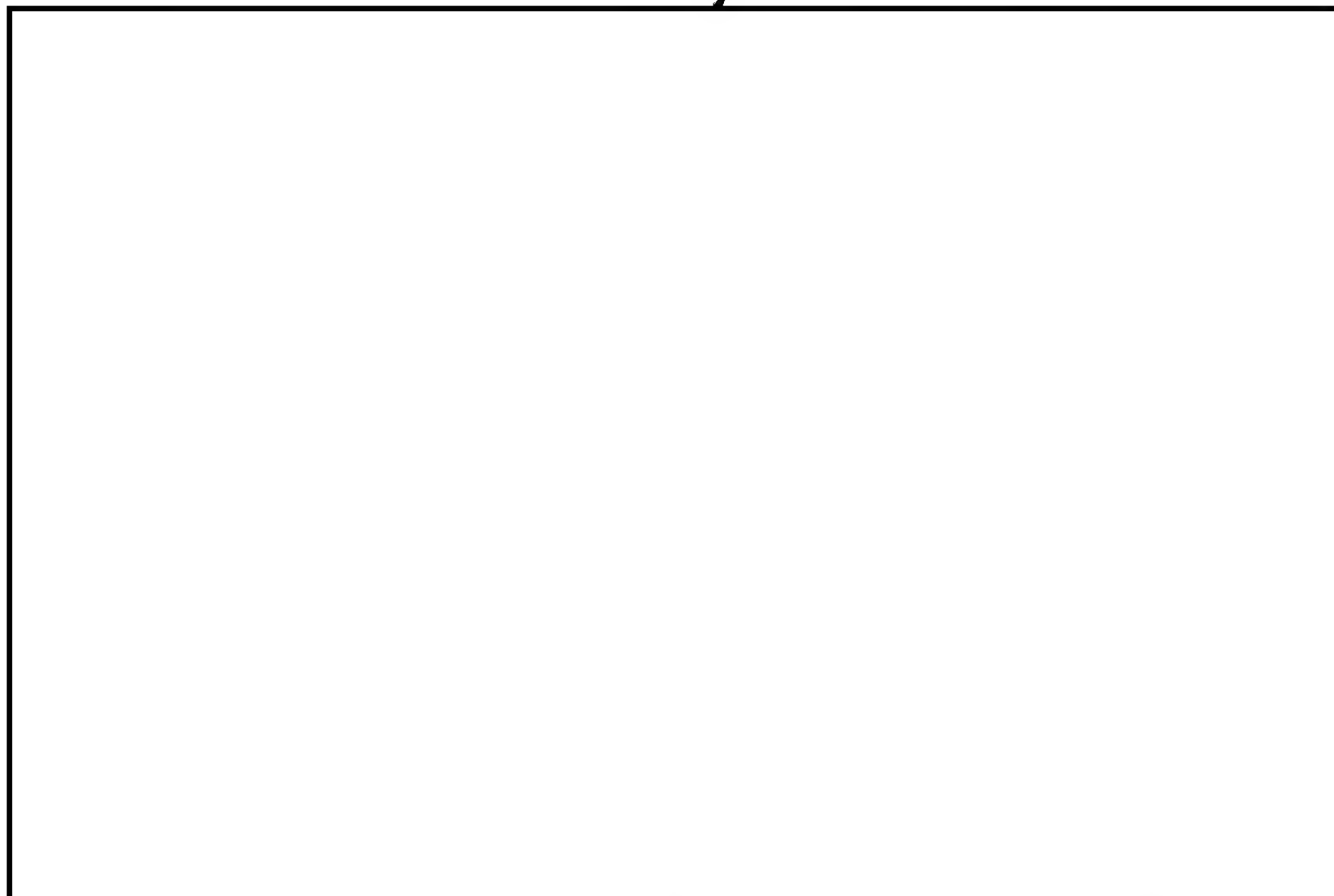
During Newton's speech the following license numbers were noted on cars parked in Jay's Parking Lot by Special Agents of the FBI and a representative of the Madison Police Department, which numbers were subsequently checked through the appropriate Motor Vehicle Departments:

Delaware

PC4091

James & Watson Funeral Home,  
Main Street,  
Millsboro, Delaware.  
1966 Ford Station Wagon

Illinois



lists  Current University of Wisconsin (UW) Directory same home address.

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HUEY PERCY NEWTON

AV1124

Chrysler Leasing Corporation,  
Avis Rent-A-Car,  
10319 Belle Plaine,  
Schiller Park, Illinois.  
1971 Dodge four door.

[Redacted]

567180

Chrysler Leasing Corporation,  
Avis Rent-A-Car,  
10319 Belle Plaine,  
Schiller Park, Illinois.  
1971 Dodge four door.

b6  
b7C

Indiana

[Redacted]

Current UW Student Directory lists

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b6  
b7C

Maryland

[Redacted]

Current UW Student Directory lists  
same home address.

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

~~"Confidential"~~

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HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Massachusetts

[Redacted]

b6  
b7C

Missouri

[Redacted]

Current UW Student Directory lists [Redacted]  
[Redacted] same home address.

Michigan

[Redacted]

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b7C

Minnesota

[Redacted]

New Jersey

[Redacted]

b6  
b7C

Current UW Student Directory lists [Redacted]  
with the same home address.

~~"Confidential"~~

~~"Confidential"~~

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

[REDACTED]

Current UW Directory lists a [REDACTED]  
same home address.

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b7C

[REDACTED]

Current UW Directory lists an [REDACTED]  
same home address.

[REDACTED]

b6  
b7C

Current UW Directory lists [REDACTED]  
same address.

[REDACTED]

New York

[REDACTED]

b6  
b7C

Current UW Directory lists a [REDACTED]  
same home address.

~~"Confidential"~~



~~"Confidential"~~

HUEY PERCY NEWTON



Current UW Directory lists a  
same home address.



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b7C



Current UW Directory lists a  
same home address.



b6  
b7C

Ohio



Current UW Directory lists a  
same home address.



Pennsylvania



South Carolina



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HUEY PERCY NEWTON

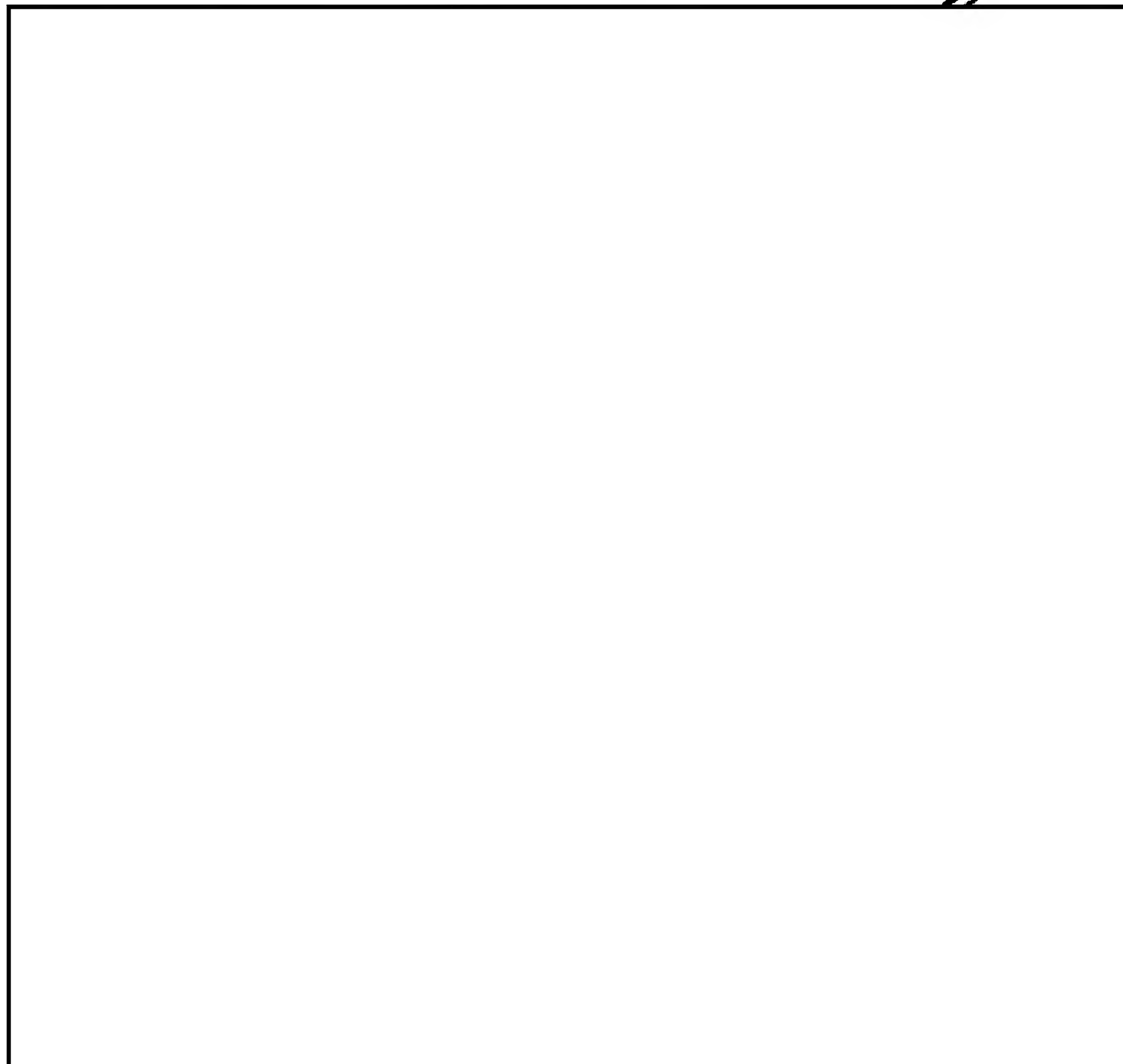
Current UW Directory lists   
same home address.

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Wisconsin

J74353

Schappe Pontiac, Incorporated,  
801 East Washington Avenue,  
Madison, Wisconsin.

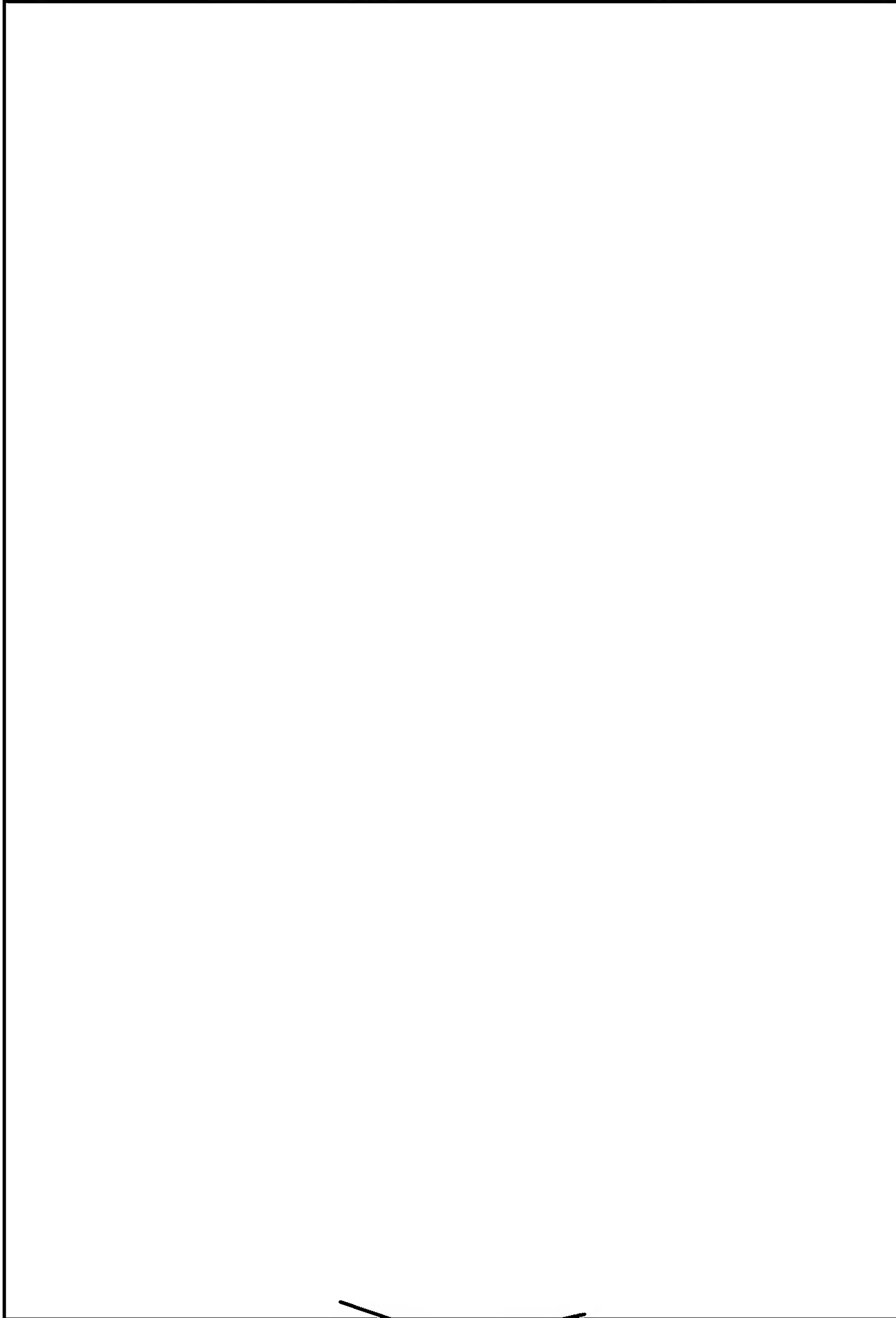


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HUEY PERCY NEWTON

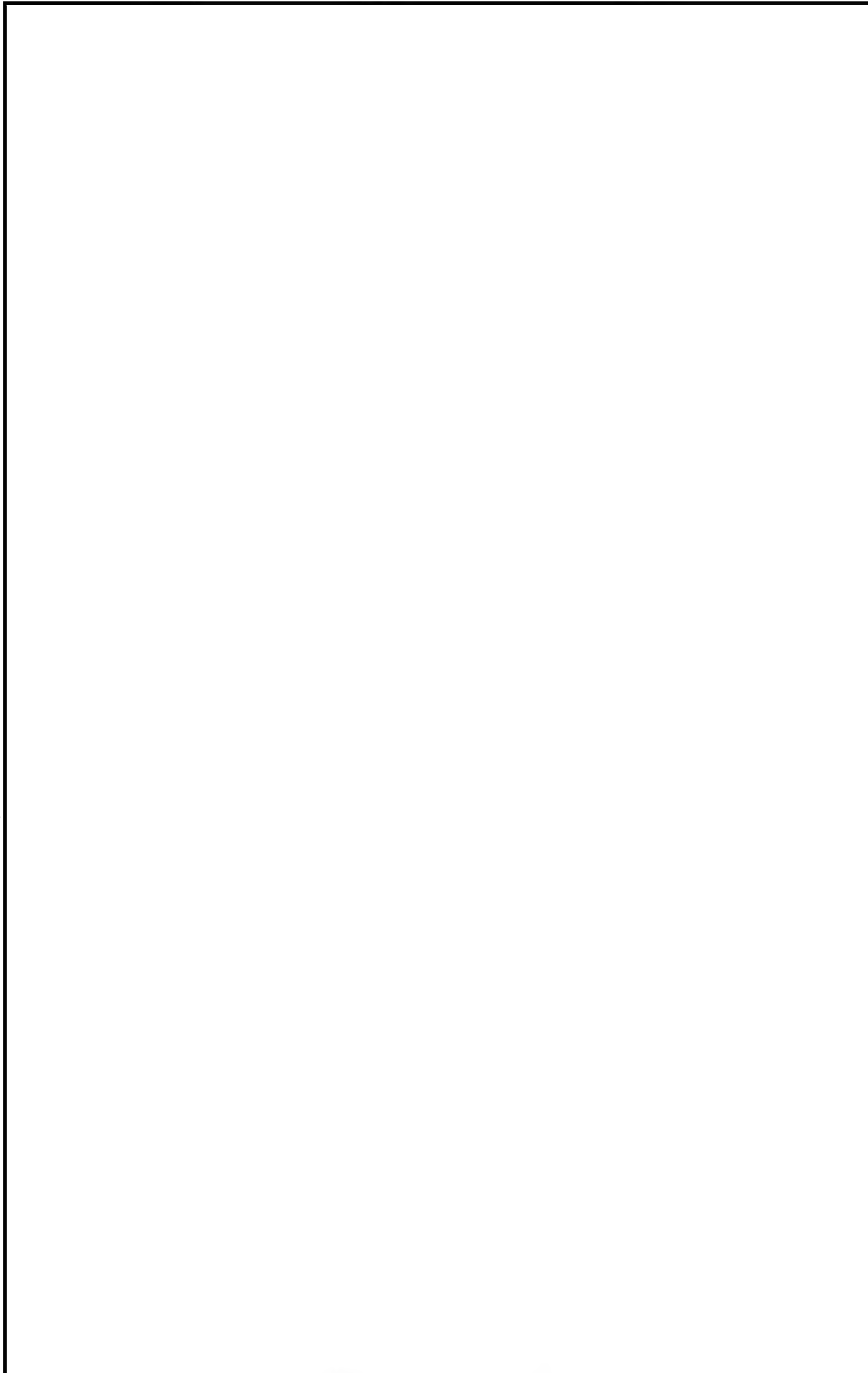


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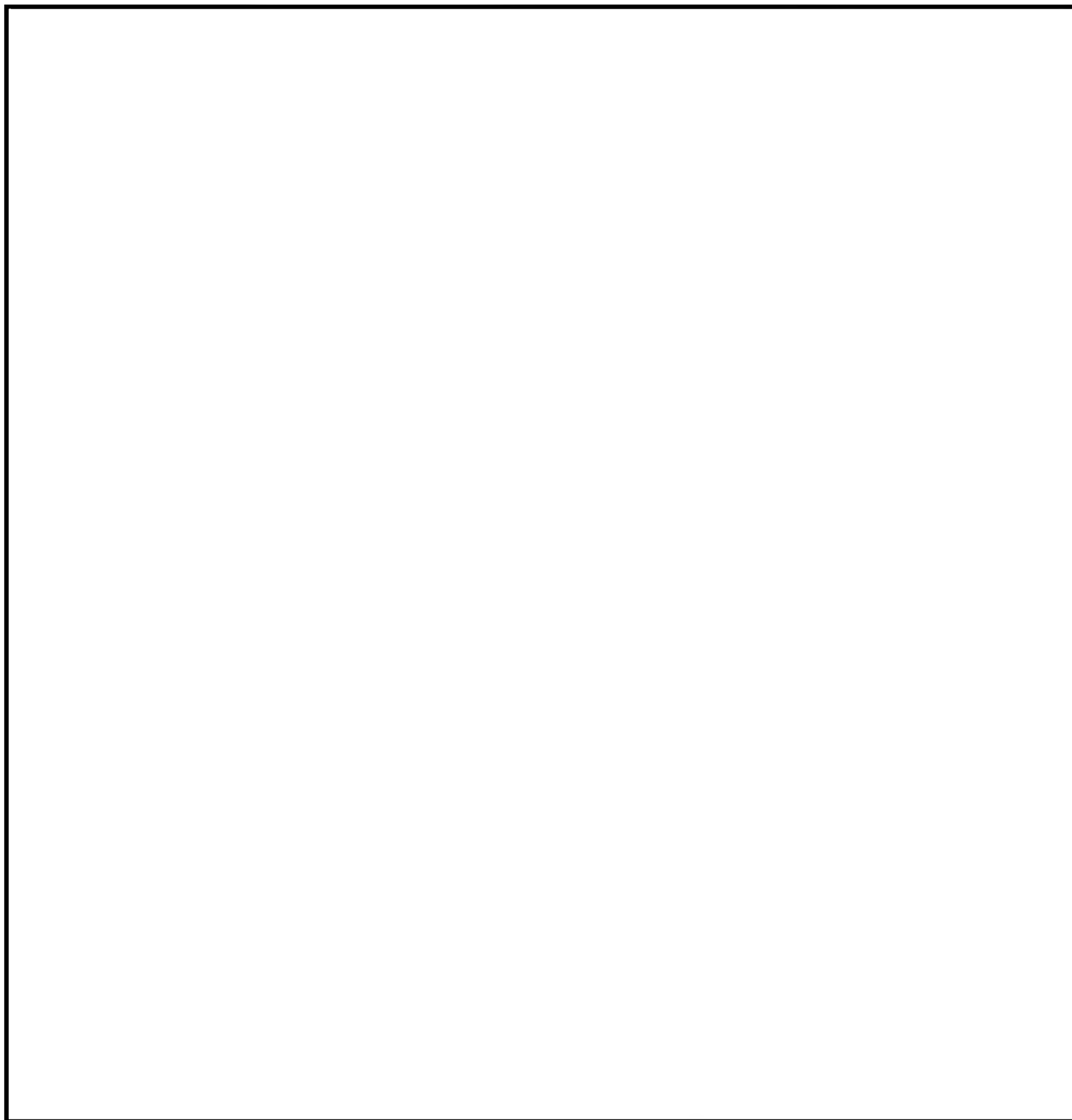


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HUEY PERCY NEWTON



V69430

1968 Volkswagen.  
State Auto Sales,  
1960 State Street,  
Racine, Wisconsin.

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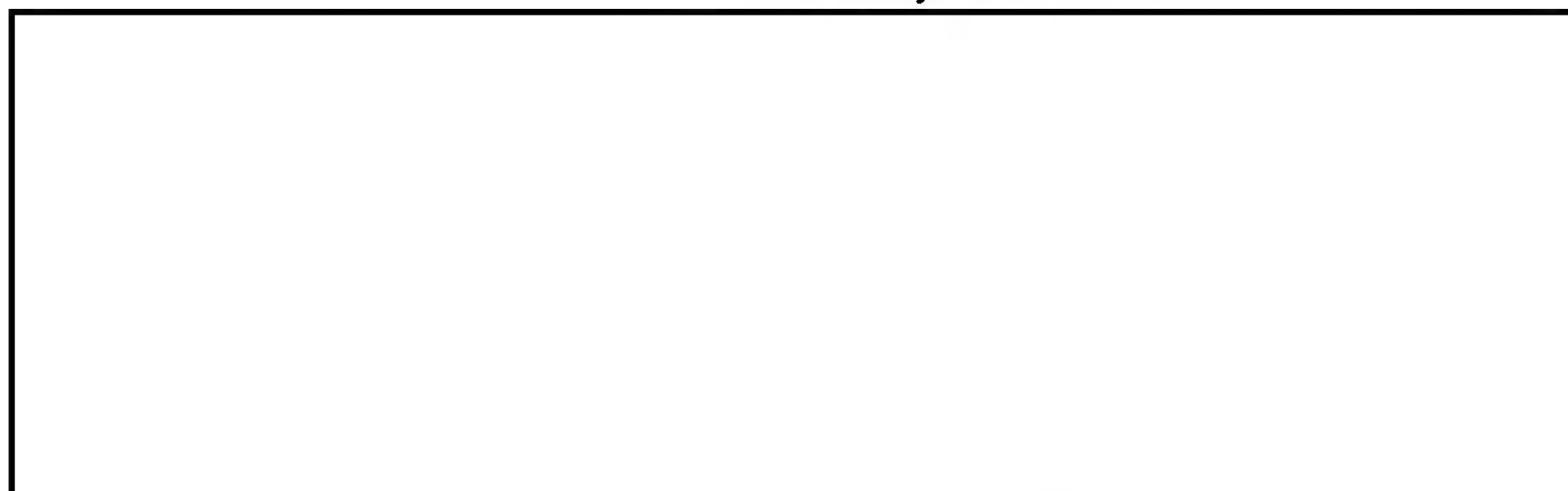
HUEY PERCY NEWTON



C26963

1967 Chevrolet.  
The Peoples Bookstore, Inc.,  
302 Main Street,  
Racine, Wisconsin.

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W10214

1971 Chevrolet.  
Koch Motors, Inc.,  
313 West Johnson Street,  
Madison, Wisconsin.

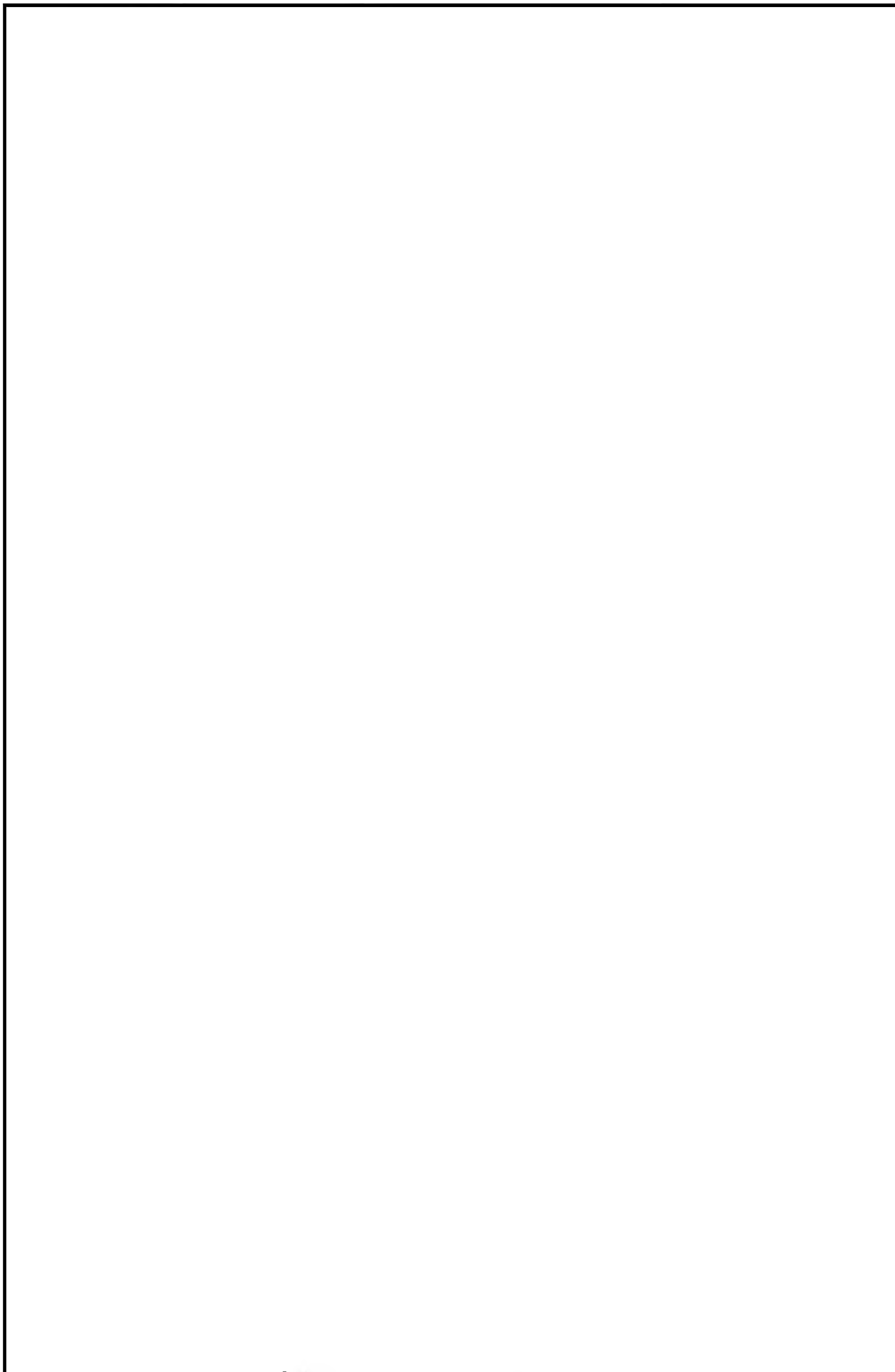
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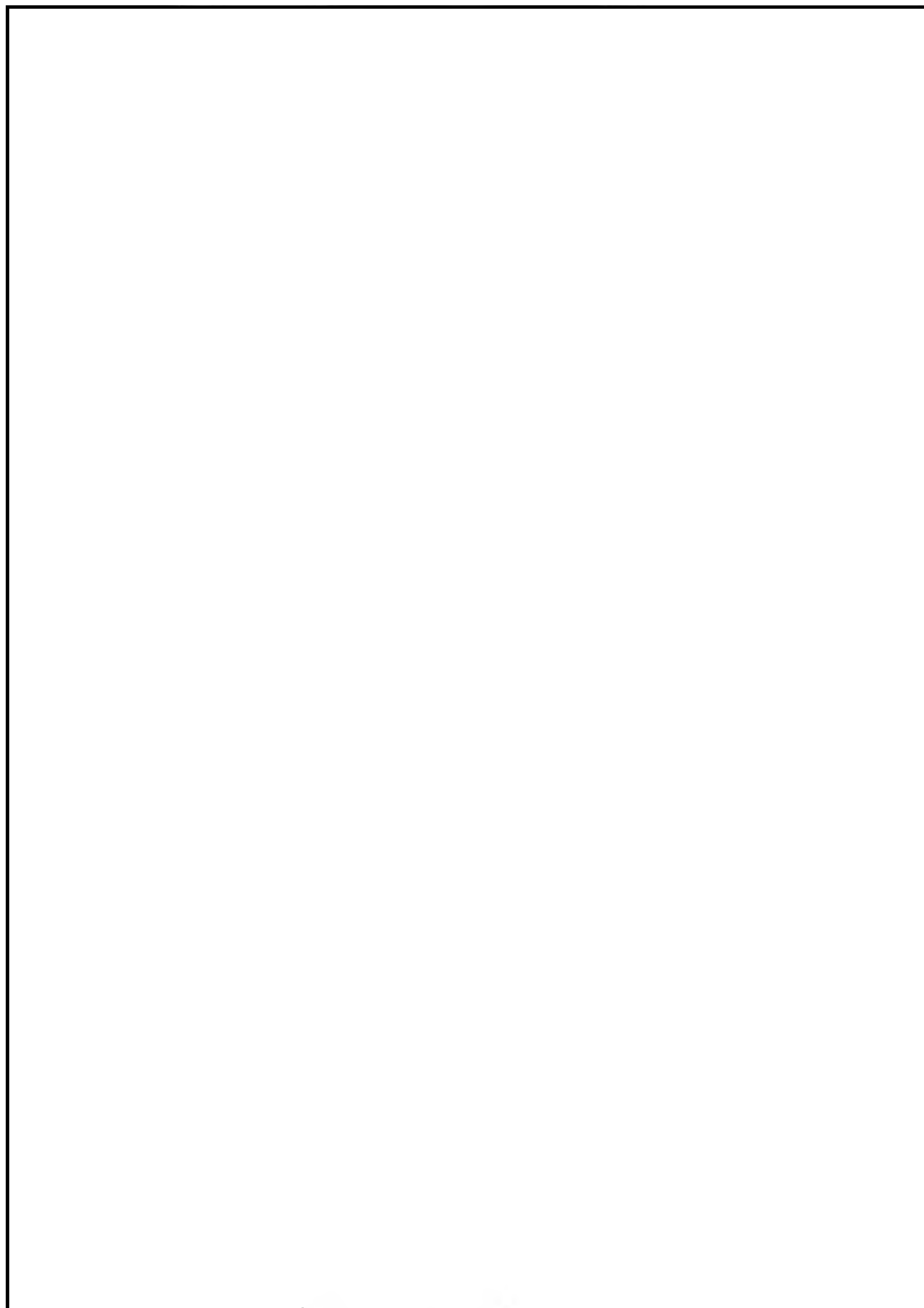
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HUEY PERCY NEWTON



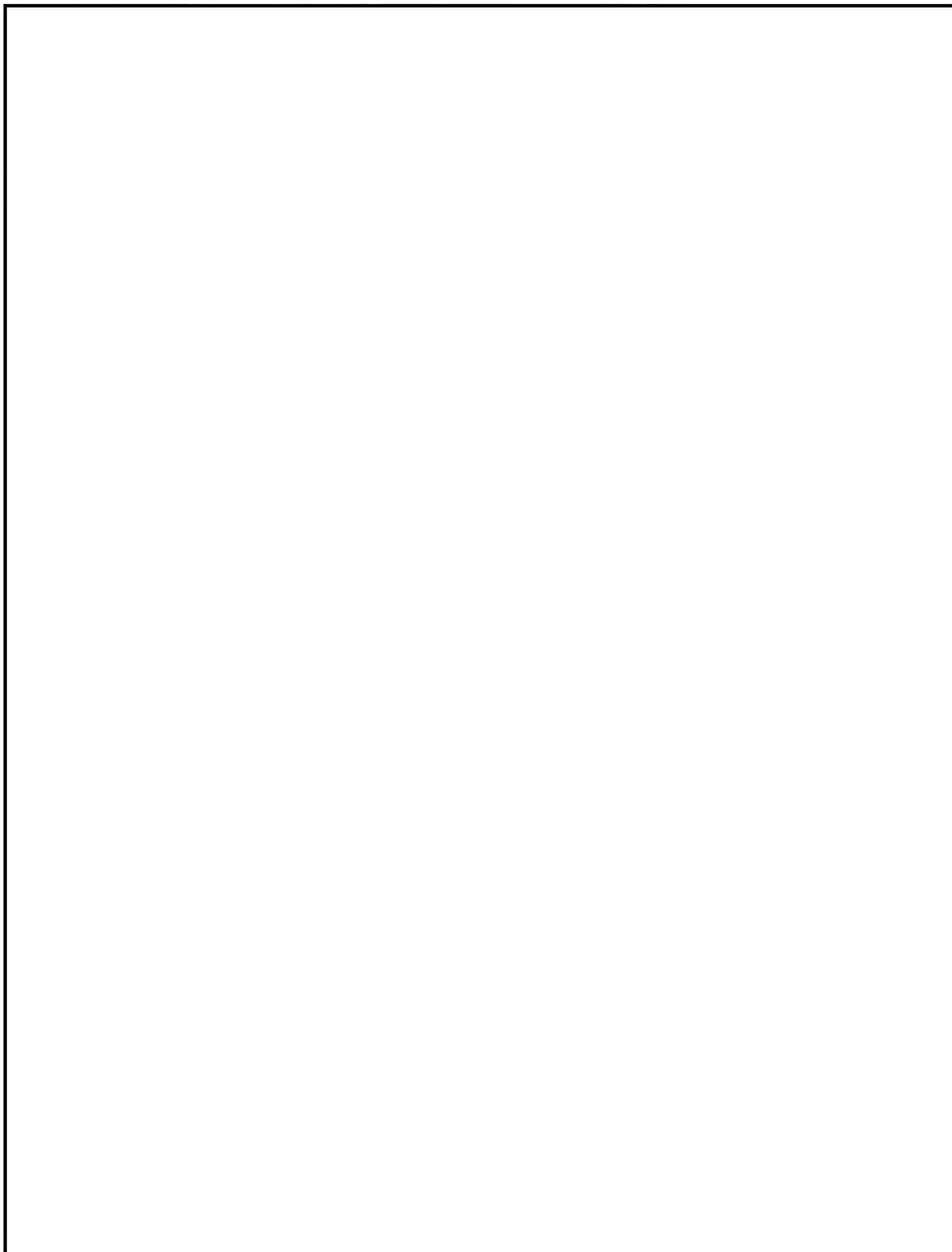
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HUEY PERCY NEWTON

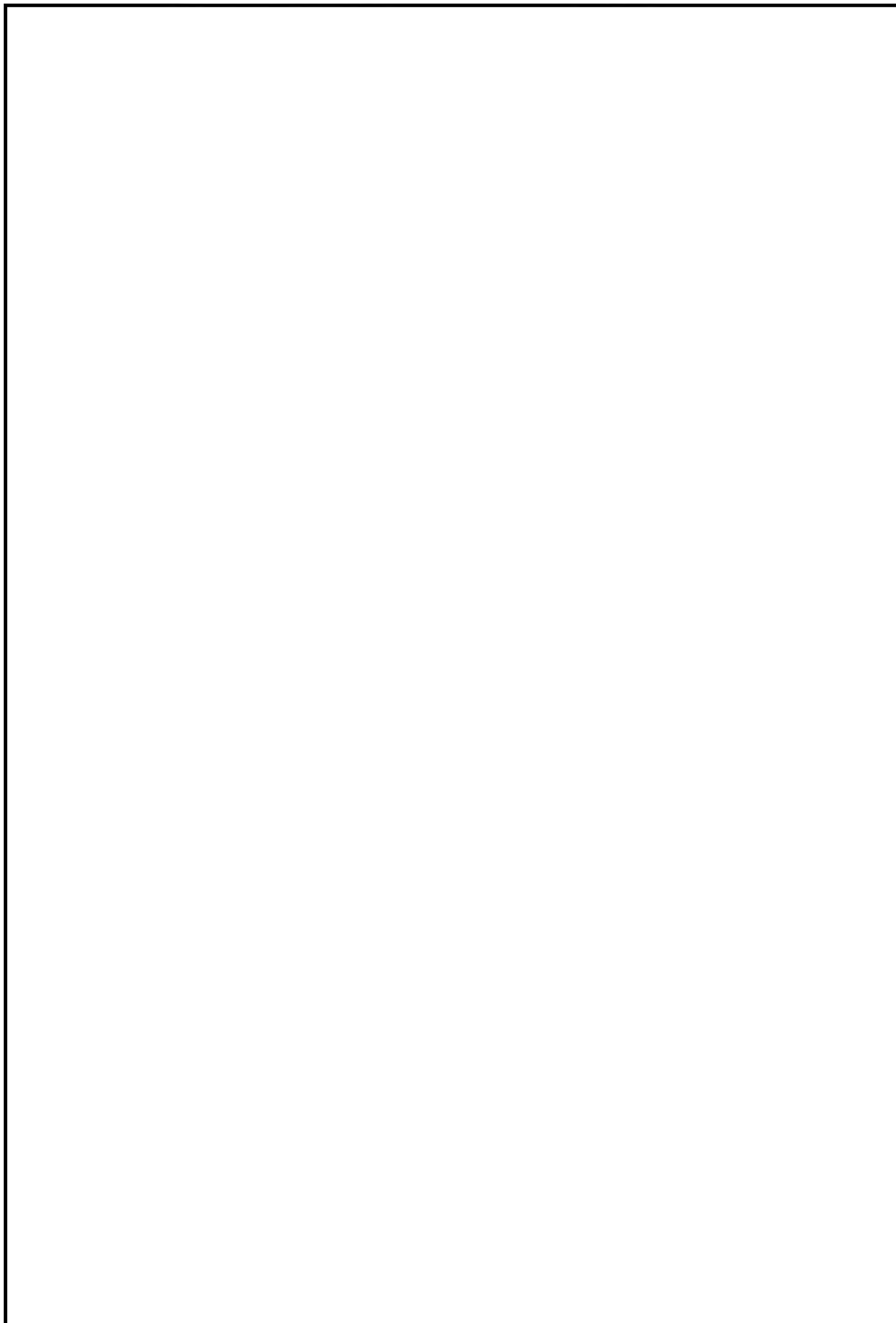


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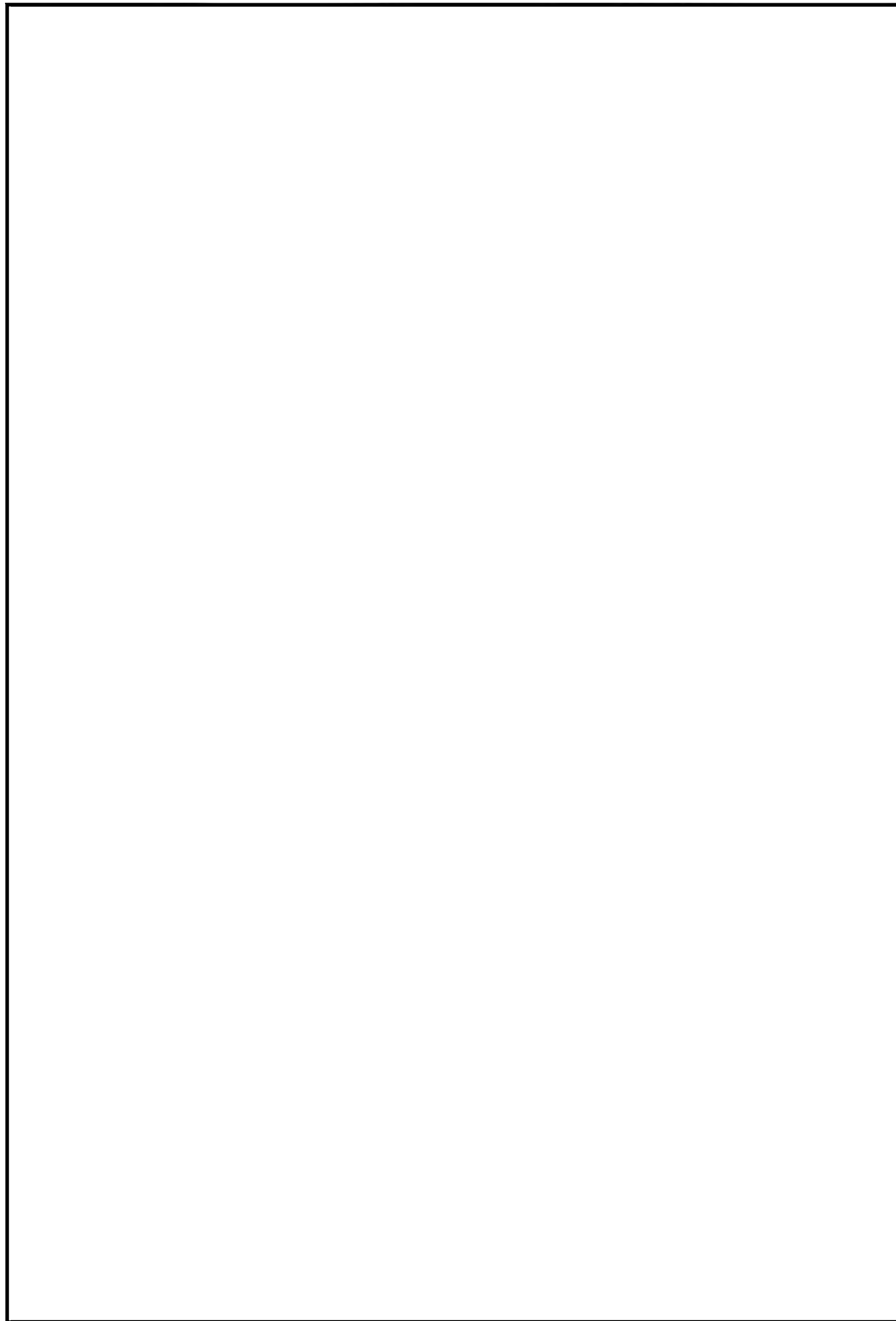


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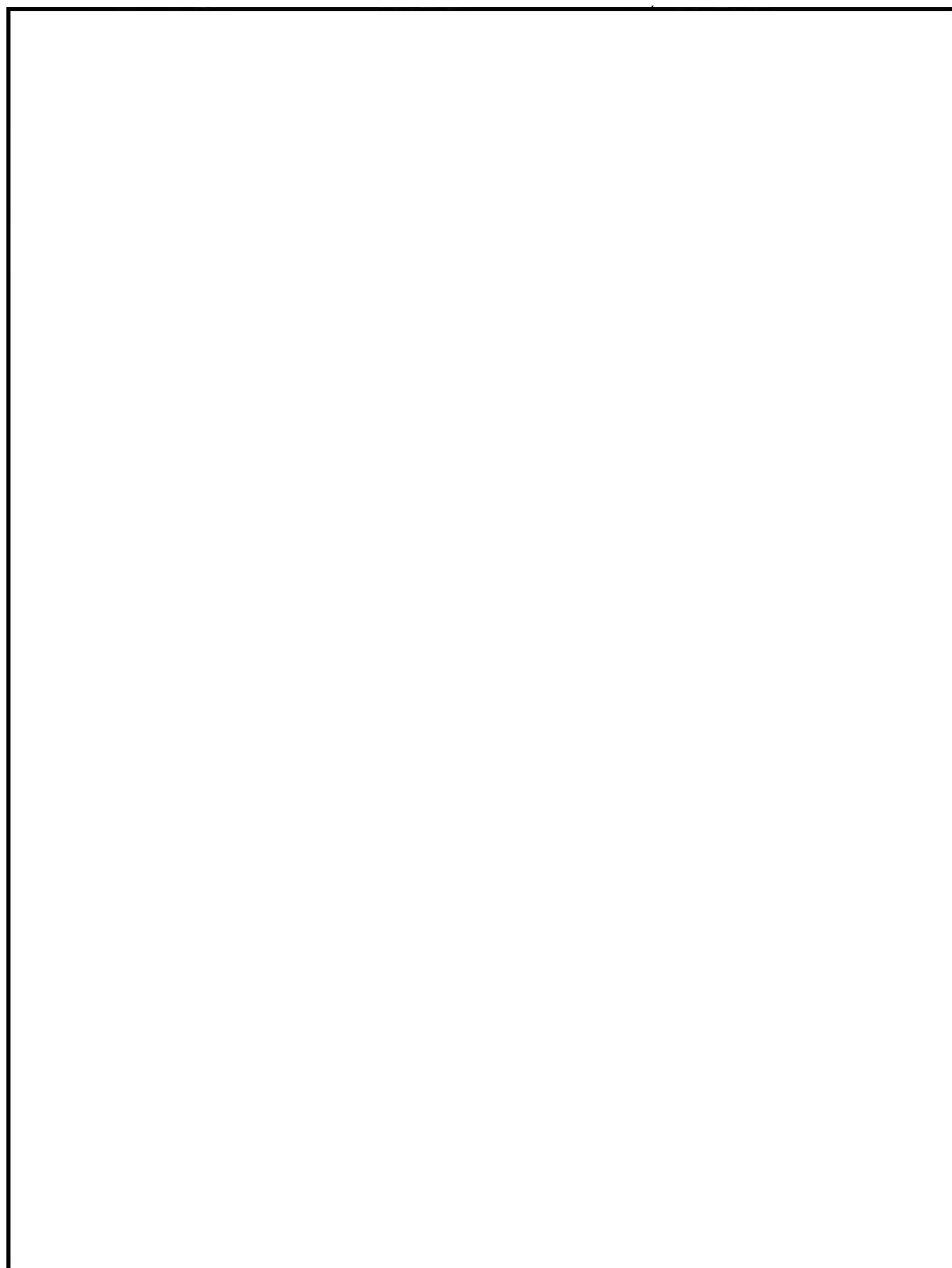


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HUEY PERCY NEWTON



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HUEY PERCY NEWTON

At approximately 4:40 PM, on April 3, 1971, Special Agents of the FBI observed Newton and his party leave Jay's Bar and travel to the Madison Airport where they boarded North Central Flight 272, leaving Madison 5:30 PM, scheduled to arrive Chicago, 6:45 PM.

On April 1, 1971, the same source, as used previously, advised the Afro American Center, [redacted] [redacted] agreed to pay the BPP \$2,500 plus \$375 expenses for Newton's travel to Madison, in addition to paying \$250 for the rental of Jay's Bar.

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FBI

Date:

6/4/71

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

AIR MAIL

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 6-26-87 BY SP5C/pt

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165429)  
FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203)  
SUBJECT: HUEY PERCY NEWTON, aka  
RM - BPP  
(KEY BLACK EXTREMIST)  
OO: San Francisco

Re San Francisco airtel to the Bureau, dated 5/21/71.

Enclosed for the Bureau are eight (8) copies of a  
Letterhead Memorandum (LHM) concerning the Subject.

The tape recording made of NEWTON's speech at the  
Black Odyssey Festival at the time of broadcast on Radio  
Station KDIA on 5/30/71 is being retained by the San Fran-  
cisco Office.

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1cc 802  
copy to 1SD, SS  
routing slip for  
info ☐ action  
6/15/71  
10/20/71

EX-109

REC- 29

Bureau (Enc. 8) (RM)  
San Francisco

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17 JUN 10 1971

FACIAL INT. SECT.

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Sent

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Per

Special Agent in Charge

1972

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

San Francisco, California

June 4, 1971

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 6-26-87 BY SP5WJ/pt

Page one of the May 29, 1971 issue of "The Black Panther", the official weekly publication of the Black Panther Party (BPP), contained a statement of Huey P. Newton, Minister of Defense of the BPP, on the dismissed case against BPP Chairman Bobby Seale and Ericka Huggins:

The Black Panther Party (BPP) is a black extremist organization started in Oakland, California in December, 1966. It advocates the use of guns and guerilla tactics to bring about the overthrow of the United States Government.

"The dismissal of the case by the State of Connecticut against our Chairman Bobby Seale and our Comrade Ericka Huggins is a clear indication that the might and power of the People is beginning to show. That the judge in New Haven was forced to say, "It is humanly impossible to find a jury", means several things; that the State was not willing to spend another several million dollars; that a re-trial would be so obscene as to cause an even greater and louder demand from the People for Bobby and Ericka's freedom than before; and that no where could a jury of twelve people be found that would bring back a conviction.

"We certainly will be glad to welcome Bobby and Ericka back among us; but we are not so foolish as to allow this compromise to cloud

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

105-165439-446X

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

our vision; Bobby and Ericka will be back among the People, but they are not free, the People are not free; and there are hundreds more political prisoners, George Jackson and the Soledad Brothers, Ruchell Magee, Angela Davis, and all the unknowns, all the Black and poor people viciously incarcerated right now in this country's maximum security camps, and the masses of oppressed people throughout the world that are still suffering under the direct or indirect boot of oppression of the U.S. ruling circle.

"It is the power of the People and the People only to whom we will be thankful and the People in whom our faith rests for the future. Bobby and Ericka have spent two long years in isolated and barbarous prisons, and nothing will justify those years, except the victory of the People, Black People, poor people, all the oppressed people of the world over the fascist, imperialist U.S. Empire.

"ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE"

The May 29, 1971 issue of "The Black Panther" also contained the text of the statement given by Newton on May 19, 1971 to the Black Odyssey Festival at Berkeley, California.

On May 30, 1971, San Francisco Radio Station KDIA, broadcast what it represented to be a tape of Newton's speech at the Black Odyssey Festival. A recording of this broadcast was made and the content is essentially the same as the following excerpt from the Black Panther Party newspaper.



BEST COPY AVAILABLE

STATEMENT BY HUEY P. NEWTON,  
MINISTER OF DEFENSE  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
SERVANT OF THE PEOPLE  
TO THE BLACK ODYSSEY FESTIVAL

*The Center for Urban-Black Studies  
Graduate Theological Union  
Berkeley, California May 19, 1971*

Since 1966, the Black Panther Party has gone through many changes; it's been transformed. I would like to talk to you about that and about contradictions. I would also like to talk about the Black Panther Party's relationship with the community as a whole and with the church in particular.

Sometime ago when the Party started, Bobby and I were interested in strengthening the Black community, that is, a comprehensive set of institutions, because there is one thing we lack and that is community. We do

have one institution that has been around for some time and that is the church. After a short harmonious relationship with the church, in fact a very good relationship, we were divorced from the church, and shortly after that we found ourselves out of the good favor of the whole Black community.

We found ourselves in somewhat of a void where we were alienated from the whole community; and we had no

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THE BLACK PANTHER, SATURDAY, MAY 29, 1971

way of being effective, as far as developing the community is concerned. The only way we could aid in that process of revolution--and revolution is a process, it's not a conclusion, or a set of principles, or any particular action--was by raising the consciousness of the community. Any conclusion or any particular action that we think is revolution really is reaction because revolution is a developmental process. It has a forward thrust which gets higher and higher as man becomes freer and freer. As man becomes freer he knows more about the universe, he tends to control more and he therefore gains more control over himself, that's what freedom is all about.

So I'll talk about the mistakes that were made. Sometimes I hate to call them mistakes because maybe they were necessary things to bring about the necessary change in the Party, the necessary transformation, or bring about the new. I am sure that we will have other kinds of contradictions in the future, some that we don't know about now because they are in rather low-key. I am sure they will build up to hurl us into a new thing.

We see the church itself as going through phases of development. Sometimes it has found itself somewhat isolated from the community. Today the church is striving to come back into the favor of the community; so with the church the Black Panther Party will attempt this also.

A short time ago there was an article that appeared in the Black Panther Paper, if you read that poli-

tical organ, I hope that you do. It's called "The Defection of Eldridge Cleaver from the Black Panther Party and the Defection of the Black Panther Party from the Black Community." (Editor's note: In that article, the Minister of Defense stated: "We were trying to build a political vehicle through which the people could express their revolutionary desires. We recognized that no party or organization can make the revolution, only the people can. All we could do was act as a guide to the people. Because revolution is a process and because the process moves in a dialectical manner. At one point one thing might be proper, but the same action could be improper at another point. We always emphasized a concrete analysis of concrete conditions, and then an appropriate response to these conditions as a way of mobilizing the people and leading them to higher levels of consciousness.") I would like to concentrate today upon the defection of the Party. I think that's a larger unit, for sure, and I hate to place blame upon individuals in our Party in particular, because they're always governed by a collective called the Central Committee. When I disagree with the Central Committee (and I did much disagreeing and arguing when I was in prison, but I was outvoted) when we come out of the meeting, I support the position of the Party until the next meeting.

I think at first that we have to have some organized apparatus in order to bring about the change necessary. The only time we leave our political



machine or our institution altogether is when we feel that we cannot bring about the change. As a matter of fact, the very posture of the organization of the institution will strip us of our individual dignity. That would leave no room for us to change anything, because we'll be stripped of that basic quality that's necessary for us to go on struggling to make the new. So I feel that this was the case with the Party and that can be argued one way or another, but individually I thought that the Party still should be held together. I knew if I left we would have to form a new Party, a new institution in order to be that spur or that guiding light in the community. Also I would have to contend with new contradictions.

We always say that contradictions are the ruling principle of the universe. I'll mention this word time and time again because I think that it's responsible for much suffering. When things collide it hurts; but the collision is also responsible for development. Without contradictions everything would be stagnant, because contradiction is that principle where opposing forces struggle against each other in order to gain dominance based upon their unity. So everything has an internal contradiction, and, as I pointed out, the church also has that.

Contradiction, or the strain that tries to make the inferior superior to the thing that is in control, gives motion to matter. We see this throughout the universe, in the physical world as well as in the biological world. We also see it in cultures. We see that de-

velopment comes when the phenomenon occurs that we call acculturation. That is, two societies meet, when cultures meet they collide because they have a contradiction, and both are modified. They say that the stronger should change less and the weaker more change. All the time the weaker is attempting to gain dominance over that of the other part. But something happens, they both will never be the same again because you have a kind of synthesis, where you have the thesis, antithesis, and the synthesis. In other words that it's all working toward the truth of the trinity. This principle of contradiction, this striving for harmony, seems to operate in all of our disciplines and we can see how it operates.

So the Black Panther Party was formed because we wanted to oppose the evils in our community. Some of the members in the Party were not so refined--we were grasping for organization. It wasn't a college campus organization; it was basically an organization of the grass roots, and anytime we organize the most victimized of the victims, we run into a problem. To have a Party or a church or any kind of institution, whether we like it or not, we have to have administrators. The institution, the organization, or the Party in this case--how it functions, how effective it is--will depend upon how knowledgeable, how advanced in thinking the administrators will be. We attempt to apply the administrative skills--if you are a grass-roots organization--to the problems that are most heard in the communi-

ty. When we do this, it is somewhat abstract in a way.

History shows that it's there, and because most of the parties that have led people out of their difficulties to change the situation have administrators that have what we sometimes call the traits of the bourgeoisie or else de-classed intellectuals. In other words they are the people who have gone through the established institutions, rejected them, and then applied their skills to the community. They gave it to the community, therefore making their skill not a bourgeoisie skill, but a people's skill. It was transformed through the contradiction of applying what's usually bourgeoisie to the person who is oppressed; and that itself is a kind of transformation.

With our Party we're not so blessed with this. History does not repeat itself; it goes on also transforming itself through its dialectical process. We see that our Party, while we have administrators (we need them in the Party), the victims have not received that bourgeoisie training. So I will not apologize for our mistakes, our lack of a scientific approach that we tried to use and put into practice. It was a matter of not knowing, of learning, but also starting out with a loss, a loss that history has never seen. That is, that a group attempting to influence and change the society so much and at the same time have its administrators as much in the dark much of the time as the people that they are trying to change. In our Party we have now what

we call the Ideological Institute where we are teaching these skills. And we also invite those people who have received a bourgeois education to come and help us, letting them know that they will, by their contribution, make their need to exist--as they exist--null and void. In other words, after we learn the skills they will not be bourgeois anymore, because that will evaporate with its application.

I explain this to show some of the mistakes. I won't go into particulars but I will show you generally what happens, because it's also happened to the church. I say that everything seems to negate itself through contradiction. Remember it is transformed by the contradiction, so therefore its old quality, its old composition is transformed so much until it has a new composition. We call it a thing negating itself; sometimes we call it the negation of the negation, because just as it is formed, it is also being negated by something else, and we see that this goes on in the process of development.

As far as the church is concerned, the Black Panther Party, and other community groups who call themselves concerned with the political and not the spiritual, criticize the spiritual. We say that it's only a ritual; it's irrelevant, and therefore we have nothing to do with it. We say this in the context of the whole community having something to do with the church,



usually on one level or another. That is one way of defecting from the community, and that is exactly what we did. Once we stepped outside of the church with that criticism we stepped outside of the thing that the community was involved in and said to them, "You follow our example; your reality is not true and you don't need it." I think that people do the thing that they think they need and they probably do it on that level, one way or another.

Now without judging whether the church is operating in a total reality, I'll venture to say that if we judge whether the church operates in a situation of relevance to the total community, we would all agree that it does not. That is why you develop new programs and become more relevant so your pews will be filled on Sunday.

So we will say that the church is in its developmental process, then; first it needs to exist. We feel that with our new direction, which is an old direction as far as I am concerned, but we'll call it new, because there has been a reversal in the dominance in the Central Committee of our Party because of reasons that you probably know about. So we go to church and we are involved in the church and we're not doing it in any hypocritical way. I think that it is a thing that man needs at this time, and he needs it because of what? Because we scientists cannot answer all of the questions. As far as I am concerned when all of the questions are answered, when the odd is not answered, when the unknown is not answered, then there is room for God because that unknown is God. God is a

thing that we know nothing about really, and that is why as soon as the scientist develops or points out a new way of controlling the universe or part of it,

suddenly that thing is not God. In other words, at one point when a thunder clashed it was God's clap, putting his hands together. As soon as we found out that it was not God, then we say that God has other attributes but not that one. So in that way we too on what was His before, you see? But you still haven't answered all of the questions, so He exists. And those scientists that say they can answer them are dishonest.

So we go into the church realizing that we cannot answer the questions at this time, that the answers will be delivered at some time, and we feel that when they are delivered they will be explained in a way that we can understand and that we can control. We noticed--I went to church for years, my father is a minister and I spent 15 years in the church, this was my life as a child--we saw one thing! That is as we approach the unknown, we see that sometimes a group of people will find something out or feel that they have discovered something they can control and say this is not God, while the other group will say that we have to approach my God differently for the simple reason that they attribute other characteristics to God. So we get many denominations, you see, all struggling to understand. When I was going to church I used to hear much of the time, they would

say that God is within us and so therefore God is some part of us. And God is that part of us that's very mystical, in the sense that we don't understand it. But as man develops and understands more and more then he will approach God, and finally he will reach heaven and therefore he will merge with the universe. I've never heard one preacher say that there is a need for the church in heaven, the church would negate itself. As man approaches his development and becomes larger and larger, the church therefore becomes smaller and smaller because it is not needed any longer. Then if we really get ministers who will deal with the social realities that cause the misery, so that we can solve them, so that man will become larger and larger, then their God within will come out, we can see it and merge with it. Then we will be one with the universe.

So I think it was rather arrogant of my Party to criticize the community for indulging in a practice to deliver this answer. The only thing we will criticize in the future is when the church does not act upon these evils that we feel cause man to go on his knees. The man goes on his knees and humbles himself under the awe, that large force that he cannot control. But as man becomes stronger and stronger, his understanding greater and greater, he will have a closer walk with thee; You note they say walk and not crawl.

So with the church we will all start

again to control our lives and control our communities. Even with the Black church we have to really create a community spirit. We say that the church is an institution, but in itself it is not a community according to sociology. The sociological definition of a community is that a community is a comprehensive collection of institutions that will deliver our whole life, provided that we can reach most of our goals within it. It serves us and we create it in order to carry out our desires. In the Black community we have the church as an institution that we created, they let us create. They warred against us, but finally we got that compromise and we worship as a unit, as a people concerned with satisfying their needs. At the time the white church was not satisfying our needs, because the actual questions could not be answered in human terms because they felt we were not human beings. So therefore the white church does not answer our cause or our problem at all, so we formed our own. They let us form it because they felt if we're not human beings then why should we go to church? So through that negative thing a positive thing came out again. We started to administer fraternities, anti-lynching groups and so forth, but they still would not let our community exist. We came here in chains and I guess they thought we were meant to stay in chains. But this wasn't the case and the way we started to move out and have that forward thrust was to



organize a political machine or trying to develop a community so that we could have the apparatus in order to fight

back. You cannot fight an organized machine back individually, so we would work with the church in order to establish a community to satisfy most of our needs so that we can live and operate as a community group.

The Black Panther Party, with its survival programs, plans to develop the institutions in the community. We have a clothing factory we are just erecting on Third Street, where we will soon give away about 300-400 new clothes a month. And we can do this by robbing Peter to pay Paul. What we will do is start to make golfing bags under contract to a company and with the surplus we will buy material to make free clothes. Our members will do this. We will have no overhead because our collective--we'll exploit our collective by making them work free. We'll do this not just to satisfy ourselves--like the philanthropist, or to serve--to save someone from going without shoes, even though this is a part of the cause of our problem. People make the revolution; we will give the process a forward thrust. If we suffer genocide we won't be around to change things. So in this way our survival program is very practical.

What we are concerned with is the larger problem, so we will be honest and say that we will do like the churches, we will negate our necessity for existing. In other words, after we

accomplish our goals then the Black Panther Party will not need to exist because we have already created our heaven right here on earth. What we're going to do is administer to the community the things they need in order to get their attention, in order to organize them into a political machine. In other words the community will then look to the Party and look to those people who are serving their needs in order to give them guidance and direction, whether it is political, whether it is judicial, or whether it is economic.

So our real thing is to organize across this country. We have 38 chapters and branches and I would like to inform you that the so-called split is only a myth, that it does not exist. We lost 2 chapters in that so-called split and I will tell you that the burden is off my shoulders, I was glad to lose them because it was like a yoke, I was frozen. Even though I couldn't make a move I already told you that I wouldn't get out of the whole thing then, because certain people had such an influence over the Party. For me to have taken that stand it would have been an individual stand. So now we're about three years behind in our five year plan, but we will now move to start to organize the community around the survival programs, like administering shoes.

We have a shoe factory that we're opening up on 14th and Jefferson. We have the machines and everything else donated. We'll use it to get inmates out of prison because most of us know how to make shoes through making shoes in the prison. So it will serve two purposes. We can give them a position in the shoe factory and therefore get somebody out on parole; secondly they'll come out with the idea of giving a certain amount of shoes away each week, and we'll have a right to wear shoes program. We'll point out that everyone in the society should have shoes and we should not have a situation like in Beaufort County, South Carolina where the children--many of them--70% of the children suffer brain damage because of malnutrition. They have malnutrition because of the combination of not enough food and parasites in the stomach. The worm eats up half the food that they take in. Why? Because the ground is infested with the eggs of the worms and they don't have shoes to wear. So as soon as we send a doctor there to cure them they get the parasites again. So we think that a shoe program is a very relevant thing, first to make them live, to create those conditions so that they will grow up and be able to work out a plan to change things. If they have brain damage, they will never be a revolutionist because they cannot plan because they have already been killed. That is genocide in itself.

So we will do this and we will point

out to this government, to this social order, that they must administer to its people because they say that they're supposed to be a representative government, representing the needs of the people. Then serve them. If they don't do this then they have a right to be criticized. What we will not do in the future is jump too far ahead. We can jump too far ahead and say that the system absolutely cannot give us anything which is not true, the system can correct itself to a certain extent. What we are interested in is for it to correct itself as much as it can do and after that if it doesn't do everything that the people think is necessary then we'll think about re-organizing things.

To be very honest again I think there's great doubt whether the particular arrangements can do this. But until the people feel the same way I feel then I'll be rather arrogant to say dump the whole thing just as we were arrogant to say dump the church. Let's give it a chance, let's work with it in order to twist as many contributions and compromises out of all the institutions as possible and then criticize after the fact. We'll know when that time comes, when the people tell us so.

We have a program attempting to get the people to do all they will do. It's too much to ask the people to do all they can do, because we know we can do everything. But that is not the point, the point is how do we get them to do all they will do, until they



eventually get to the point they will have to be doing all they can do because they will be satisfied with everything else? This is the kind of program we have.

When the Party started we started because we recognized that what was growing out of the movement was what we called a cultural cult group. We defined a cultural cult group as an organization that disguised itself as a political organization, but really it was more interested in the cultural rituals of Africa in the 1100's before the contact with the European. Instead of administering to the community and organizing it, they would rather wear bubas and get African names and use this and demand that the community do the same and do nothing about the survival of the community. Sometimes they say that "well if we get our culture back then all things will be solved," this is like saying to be regenerated and born again is to solve everything. We know that it is not solved.

We went into a thing just as closed in as the cultural cultist group. You might know many churches that are very reactionary and you might call them a religious cult. They go through many rituals but they're divorced from reality. Even though we have many things in common with them we say they isolate themselves from reality because they're so miserable and reality is so hard to take. We know that by us operating within the reality does not mean that we accept it; we're operating within it, so that we can

change it, because what we do as revolutionists we're somewhat abstract in our approach. The people are always real. They think they are real, but we know that reality is changing all the time, but what we want to do is harness those forces that are causing the change in order to direct them in a desirable direction. In other words the development will go on, but we have no guarantee that it will develop so man can live. We have no guarantee that the bomb won't be dropped, but we know that there are certain ways that we can plan for the new reality, and in order to do this, we have to take some control over the now. So the people who withdraw, like I mentioned the religious cultist group, do the same thing as the cultural cultist group.

These are new words that we have coined. The Panthers are always coining words, because we have to keep defining the new reality, the new phenomena. The old words confuse us sometimes, because things have changed so much. So we try to stay abreast, by developing or manipulating definitions, the old lexical definitions become so outdated after the qualitative leap (the transformation) that it doesn't match at all what we're talking about now.

The new word that we are talking about now is what I was guilty of. I was guilty of this when I offered the Black troops to Viet Nam--I won't talk about whether it was morally right or wrong--I will say that anything that you say or do as a revolutionist that does not spur or give the forward thrust to the process (of revolution),

is wrong. Remember that the people are the makers of history, the people make everything in their society. They are the architects of the society and if you don't spur them on, then I don't care what phrases you use, whether they are political or religious, you cannot be classified as being relevant to that process. You might be reactionary because if you know you're wrong and do these things then you're reactionary because you are very very guilty. You deserve many stripes. Some of us didn't know. I'm probably more guilty than anyone. I keep searching myself to see whether I knew we were going wrong. I couldn't influence them (the Central Committee) and maybe I should have been charged with an individual violation and gotten out that they didn't know. I think most of them didn't know, so they're not as guilty as I am. But anyway, the new word that we call what we went into for a short length of time--a couple of years--is revolutionary cultist.

The revolutionary cultist uses the words social change, they use words for being interested in the development of society, he uses that terminology, you see. But his actions are so far divorced from the process, and organizing the community until he is living in a fantasy world. So we talk to each other on the campuses, or we talk to each other in the conspiracy of the night, with concentration upon the weapons thinking that these things will produce change, without the people themselves changing it. Of course peo-

ple will do courageous things and call themselves the vanguard. But the people who do things like that are either heroes or criminals. They are not the vanguard because the vanguard means spearhead, and the spearhead has to spearhead something, if nothing is behind it, then you are divorced from all the masses, and, not the vanguard.

I am going to be very criticized now by the revolutionary cultists and probably even more in the future because I view the process as going in stages. I feel that we can't jump from A to Z, we have to go through all that development. So even though I could see a thing is not the answer, I don't think it's dishonest to involve myself in it for the simple reason that the people tend to take not even one step higher, they take a half a step higher.

Then hang on to the reality or what they view as the reality, because they can't see that it is constantly changing and when it finally changes (qualitatively) they don't know why. Remember that part of the reason it changes around them is because they are there, so they participate whether they like it or not.

So what we will do now is involve ourselves in anything or any stage of development in the community, support that and try to introduce some insight into it. Then we will work very hard with the people in the community and with this institution so that it can negate itself. We will be honest about this and we hope they are honest. They will be honest if they accept this thing, that is the reality that everything



is negated and this is how we go on to higher levels.

I would like to say this to notify you that in the future there will be many articles that come out. Most of them will be re-analysis. I am doing an article now called "To Re-analyze Black Capitalism", but I'm not going to go into that because it's a long rap. But I think this is the kind of thing we're involved in and we'll judge how successful we are by whether we can take the community with us.

I was warned when I got up here that it would be more appropriate for a question-and-answer period, so I guess that we'll start now because I'm subject to go on and on.

QUESTION: I would like to know in your Re-Evaluation of your former stance in relationship to the community, in what ways do you expect to merge or bring together the community of the Catholic Church into the Black Panther Party?

MINISTER OF DEFENSE: First that I say that we can't change the reality, or direct it, or harness the forces until we know them. We have to gather information about it. We can gather information about the church by experiencing the church. As a matter of fact that is how we gain facts, through empirical evidence, observation and experience. So in order to do this we have to go there. You see the only laboratory in society we have is the community itself, and we view ourselves as not only scientists but also activists.

Now we say we try to merge theory

with practice. So we're going to churches now. I went to church last week for the first time in 10 years, I guess. We took our children with us. We have a youth institute, the Samuel Napier Youth Institute. We have about 30 children now and we took them to church and involved ourselves. We plan to involve ourselves in many community activities, going through the behavior the church goes through in order to contribute to the community. We also hope to influence the church, as I'm sure the church will influence us. Remember that we said that even when whole societies and cultures meet they are both modified by each other. And I am saying that the very fact that we're there is the new ingredient in the church and we know that we will be affected, and we hope that they will be affected. But I warn you that we hope that we will have more effect than you.

Just briefly I mentioned our Youth Institute. We have children from 3 to 14, most of them have already been kicked out of schools and we have a shortage of facilities because the hard core Black community or what we want to be the community now is just an aggregate. People who happen to be Black.

We are teaching them first what I mentioned before, bourgeois skills. This is a necessary thing for us to learn, in order for us to understand the phenomena around us, the society.

On the second hand, we don't like the way the skills have been used, so we're going to use them a different way. Thirdly, our children are not going to withdraw. As far as I'm concerned I don't like parochial schools, I don't like separate schools, but I think that sometimes you have to use a strategy, just as the Black Panther Party is a Black organization. We know that we live in a world of many cultures and ethnic groups and we all interconnect in one way or another. We say that we are the contradiction to the reactionary western values, but we cannot separate because we're here. Technology is too far advanced for us to isolate ourselves in any geographical location--the jet can get there so fast and so can the early-bird TV set -- so what we have to do is share the control of these devices.

So far as our children are concerned the only reason they are at this separate school is the public schools were not giving them the correct education. They can hardly learn to read and write. I don't want them to end up as I did. I only learned how to read after I was 17 and this will not happen to them. I've only been reading for about 10 years or so, and that's not very good--I don't read very good. Anyway our children, just as we're going back to the church, our whole plan is for our children not to graduate from our school and live in a fantasy that everyone has the understanding that they do. Our effort is to keep them in there just as long as it will take

for them to go back into the school in order to organize it and make the school relevant. In other words we're going to send them back into the wilderness, but we're going to send them with their purse and their scribes with them this time.

QUESTION: When David Hilliard spoke to the National Committee of Black Churchmen that met in Berkeley, he called the preachers who were gathered there a bunch of pimps and motherfuckers, and bootlicking pimps and motherfuckers, which is information that never should have been made public anyway. And he threatened that if the preachers did not come around that the Panthers would off some of the preachers. Imagine that if you're not able to influence the Black church as much as you think that you will, will the Panther Party return to this particular stance?

MINISTER OF DEFENSE: If you understood my talk, the Black Panther Party will not take the separate individual stand. We'll only take the stand of the community because we're interested in what the community will do and will do to get themselves liberation. We will not be arrogant and we wouldn't have the most rudimentary knowledge if we didn't know that we cannot bring about the change. It was very wrong and almost criminal for some people in the Party to make the mistake to think that the Black Panther Party could overthrow even the police force. It ended up with the war between the police



and the Panthers, and if there is a war, it needs to be between the community and the reactionary establishment or else we're isolating ourselves.

As far as what David Hilliard said, what it did was alienate you, and that's what you're talking about. So therefore it alienated us also, it put us in a void where blood was spilled from one end of this country to the other, our blood, while the community watched. Our help watched on, you see? But it was more our fault than theirs, because we were out there saying that we were going to lead them into a change. But we can not lead them into a change if they will not go. As a matter of fact, we cannot exist individually if we don't band together to resist the genocide against all of us. So just as I criticize David Hilliard, I criticize myself, because I knew that stuff was going on and I argued against it, I didn't leave the Party and finally the change came about.

And so what I say about it is that I understand, and the reason that I didn't leave was that it wasn't an outrage to my humanity even though I cringed everytime. Because I understood that he did it not out of hatred but because of love. He did it because he was outraged by the church's inactivity, as you're outraged (not you, but you in the Plural), outraged at this situation, and he was outraged, of course, because of your isolation. So we're all in the same boat; so when we end up in the same boat that means we're unified right there. 15\*

THANK YOU VERY MUCH

F B I

Date: 6/7/71

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL - REGISTERED  
(Priority)APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES

ADVISED BY ROUTING

SLIP(S) BY KLWDATE 4/3/83

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165429)

FROM: SAC, LOS ANGELES (157-5552)

RE: HUEY PERCY NEWTON, aka  
RM - BPP (KBE)ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIEDDATE 1-19-82 BY 7514 JCH/bjs  
6-26-87 SP 6-2/60Re San Francisco teletypes dated 6/2/71 and  
6/3/71.Enclosed for the Bureau are five copies of a  
letterhead memorandum (LHM) captioned as above. Two copies  
of this LHM are being enclosed for San Francisco.

Sources utilized in the attached LHM are:

Source One  
Source Two  
Source ThreeInformants of the Los Angeles Division have not  
as of yet ascertained what transpired during NEWTON's  
visit to the [redacted] residence. The Buick vehicle  
registered to [redacted] has been determined to be  
used by [redacted]Indices of the Los Angeles Division reflect  
that [redacted] is the name of the business operated

- ENCLOSURE
- 2 - Bureau (Enc. 5) (RM)
  - 2 - San Francisco (Enc. 2) (RM)
  - 5 - Los Angeles
    - (1 - 157-5154)
    - (1 - 100-69849)
    - (1 - 100-38324)
    - (1 - 100-67274)

RHR:vjh  
(9)

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100-806

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REC 19

105-165429-446X1  
7 JUN 10 1971

Copies to 150, SS

6/15/71

JLA/jr

b6  
b7C

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

M

Per \_\_\_\_\_

LA 157-5552

[redacted] and is located at [redacted]  
California. Los Angeles indices also reflect that [redacted]  
[redacted]

Information furnished by sources contained in this LHM is classified ~~confidential~~ because the unauthorized disclosure of either the information or identity of sources would be detrimental to the national defense.

b6  
b7C

Los Angeles is attempting to determine the purpose of the meeting with [redacted]



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Los Angeles, California  
June 7, 1971

7514-1-19-82  
HUEY P. NEWTON  
RACIAL MATTER -  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY

An Appendix page for the Black Panther Party (BPP)  
is attached.

The following sources have provided reliable  
information in the past.

Source One advised that Huey P. Newton, Supreme  
Commander of the BPP; [redacted] and  
John/Seale, former Production Manager of the BPP newspaper,  
intended to fly to Los Angeles from San Francisco on June 2,  
1971. Source One reported that Newton would visit [redacted]  
[redacted] in Los Angeles and also confer with [redacted]  
[redacted]

b6  
b7C

Source One also advised [redacted] intended to  
bring [redacted] to Los Angeles and leave [redacted]  
with [redacted] there.

b6  
b7C

Source Two advised that, on June 2, 1971, Newton,  
[redacted] Seale, and [redacted] deplaned from Pacific  
Southwest Airlines (PSA) Flight 542 at Los Angeles Inter-  
national Airport at 9:40 p.m. The party of four was taken

105-165439-446X1

ENCLOSURE



HUEY P. NEWTON  
RACIAL MATTER -  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY

by an airport limousine service to the Ramada Inn at 9620 Airport Avenue near the air terminal. The group entered the bar at the hotel and remained there until 10:30 p.m. While in the bar, Newton and Seale appeared to have a discussion, during which there was obvious disagreement. Later, Seale left the group and made a phone call. At approximately 10:30 p.m., the group left the bar and met several people in a parking lot, at which time [ ] [ ] taken away in a Volkswagen sedan.

Newton, [ ] and Seale then took a cab to [ ] which is the residence of [ ] Source Two also advised that parked in front of the residence was a vehicle registered to [ ] and a Buick registered to [ ] of Los Angeles.

b6  
b7C

Source Two advised that, prior to midnight, June 2, 1971, [ ] vehicle and the Buick both departed the residence. At approximately 3:00 a.m., a dark colored Volvo automobile left [ ] residence and drove into a residential canyon area of Beverly Hills. This vehicle had two persons as occupants, one of which was a Negro female. The other could not be positively observed. Source Two also advised that, at approximately 3:30 a.m., this vehicle returned to the [ ] residence, after which all lights were extinguished.

b6  
b7C

Source Two advised that no activity was noted at the [ ] residence for the rest of the early morning of June 3, 1971, until approximately 12 noon, at which time Newton and Seale were driven to Los Angeles International Airport. Both individuals were observed boarding a PSA flight which departed Los Angeles at 1:15 p.m. on June 3, 1971.

Source Three advised that [ ] visited the BPP pad located at [ ] in the late morning on June 3, 1971. Source Three advised [ ] had said she had wanted to see [ ] a BPP member in Los Angeles, while she was in town. Source Three advised that

b6  
b7C

HUEY P. NEWTON  
RACIAL MATTER -  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY

transportation was arranged [redacted] to travel from 78th Street to the airport at about 12:30 p.m. because she had to catch a flight back to the Oakland, California area.

b6  
b7C

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

mp

PLAINTEXT

6-12-71

URGENT ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 6-26-87 BY SP5C

618

TELETYPE

TO SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203)

FROM DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165429)

HUEY PERCY NEWTON, AKA., RM - BPP (KBE).

REURTEL JUNE TWELVE INSTANT.

BASIS INFORMATION FURNISHED  MAYBE IDENTICAL

b6  
b7C

BORN

SIMILAR DESCRIPTION. NO FBI NUMBER ASSIGNED.

b6  
b7C

EX-113  
REC-31

105-165429-447

JUN 17 1971

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JUN 12 1971

655P M mas  
TELETYPE

53 JUN 21 1971

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
Soyars \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☒



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165429)

DATE: 6/15/71

SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203) (P)

SUBJECT:

HUEY P. NEWTON, aka  
RM - BPP (KBE)  
OO - San Francisco

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 6-26-81 BY SP5G/4x

ReNYlet to Bureau 12/7/70.

Relet reported that on 11/13/70, a representative of Harcourt Brace and Jananovich, Inc., 757 Third Avenue, New York City, successors to Harcourt Brace and World, Inc., advised that the book entitled "The Panther" to be authored by subject and J. HERMAN BLAKE will not be published until late Fall, 1971.

LEAD

NEW YORK

AT NEW YORK CITY, NEW YORK: Will determine if the above-mentioned book is still scheduled to be published and will attempt to obtain an advance copy of the book.

2 - Bureau (RM)  
2 - New York (157-2702) (RM)  
2 - San Francisco  
JLC/jr  
(6)

20 JUN 18 1971

RACIAL INT. SEC

56 JUN 24 1971

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JUN 28 1971

TELETYPE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 6-26-87 BY

|              |       |
|--------------|-------|
| Mr. Tolson   | _____ |
| Mr. Sullivan | _____ |
| Mr. Mohr     | _____ |
| Mr. Bishop   | _____ |
| Mr. Brennan  | _____ |
| Mr. Callahan | _____ |
| Mr. Casper   | _____ |
| Mr. Conrad   | _____ |
| Mr. Dalbey   | _____ |
| Mr. Felt     | _____ |
| Mr. Gale     | _____ |
| Mr. Rosen    | _____ |
| Mr. Tavel    | _____ |
| Mr. Walters  | _____ |
| Mr. Soyars   | _____ |
| Mr. Beaver   | _____ |
| Tele. Room   | _____ |
| Miss Holmes  | _____ |
| Miss Gandy   | _____ |

NR 004 SF PLAIN

3:44 PM URGENT 6/28/71 MCC

TO DIRECTOR (105-165429)

FROM SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203) 1P

HUEY P. NEWTON, AKA., RM - BPP (KBE).

ALAMEDA COUNTY ASSISTANT DISTRICT ATTORNEY FRANK VUKOTA,  
OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA, ADVISED SUBJECT APPEARED IN ALAMEDA COUNTY  
SUPERIOR COURT, OAKLAND, MORNING OF JUNE TWENTYEIGHT INSTANT.  
SUBJECT'S ATTORNEY, CHARLES R. GARRY, FILED A CHALLENGE TO THE  
GRAND AND PETIT JURY PANELS. MATTER ASSIGNED TO SUPERIOR COURT  
JUDGE HAROLD HOVE, DEPARTMENT SIX, AND RECESSED UNTIL JUNE  
TWENTYNINE NEXT, WHEN GARRY WILL PRESENT WITNESSES CONCERNING  
MAKE UP OF JURY PANELS.

ALAMEDA COUNTY ASSISTANT DISTRICT ATTORNEY DONALD WHITE  
IS HANDLING PROSECUTION.

ADMINISTRATIVE

BUREAU WILL BE KEPT ADVISED OF ALL DEVELOPMENTS.

END

MSE

FBIWASH DC

56 JUL 6 - 1971

REC 16

7 JUL 20 1971

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 6-28-87 BY SP5

6/28/71  
PLAINTEXT

TELETYPE

URGENT

TO: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203)

1

FROM: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165429)

HUEY PERCY NEWTON  
RM-BPP; KBE

REURTEL MAY TWENTY-SEVEN NINETEEN SEVENTY-ONE.

NEWTON'S TRIAL FOR MANSLAUGHTER SCHEDULED TO BEGIN TODAY,  
JUNE TWENTY-EIGHT.

SAN FRANCISCO KEEP BUREAU ADVISED BY TELETYPE OF DEVELOP-  
MENTS.

JLA:mlb  
(3)

*MLB*

NOTE:

Retel advised Newton's trial rescheduled for today.  
We should be kept advised as Newton is Supreme Commander of  
the BPP and there will be considerable publicity in this trial.

EX-115

REC 16

*105-165429-450*

22 JUN 29 1971

b6  
b7C

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Brennan, C.D. \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Dalbey \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
Soyars \_\_\_\_\_  
Beaver \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
andy \_\_\_\_\_

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

56 JUL 6 1971

- MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JUN 29 1971

TELETYPE  
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 6-26-87 BY SP5Cw

|              |       |
|--------------|-------|
| Mr. Tolson   | _____ |
| Mr. Sullivan | _____ |
| Mr. Mohr     | _____ |
| Mr. Bishop   | _____ |
| Mr. Rosen    | _____ |
| Mr. Callahan | _____ |
| Mr. Casper   | _____ |
| Mr. Conrad   | _____ |
| Mr. Felt     | _____ |
| Mr. Gale     | _____ |
| Mr. Rosen    | _____ |
| Mr. Tavel    | _____ |
| Mr. Walters  | _____ |
| Mr. Soyars   | _____ |
| Mr. Beaver   | _____ |
| Tele. Room   | _____ |
| Miss Holmes  | _____ |
| Miss Gandy   | _____ |

NR 012 SF PLAIN

8:52PM NITEL 6/29/71 FCO

TO: DIRECTOR (105-165429)

FROM: SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203)

HUEY P. NEWTON, AKA., RM - BPP (KBE)

ALAMEDA COUNTY ASSISTANT DISTRICT ATTORNEY DONALD WHYTE,  
OAKLAND, CALIF., ADVISED SUBJECT APPEARED IN ALAMEDA COUNTY SUPERIOR  
COURT, DEPARTMENT SIX, JUNE TWENTYNINE INSTANT, <sup>H</sup>WERE PRE-TRAIL  
ARGUMENTS BY HIS ATTORNEY CHARLES R. GARRY TOOK PLACE. GARRY CONTINUED  
HIS CHALLENGE OF THE COMPOSITION OF THE PETIT AND GRAND JURIES. GARRY  
CALLED ELEVEN SUPERIOR COURT JUDGES AS WITNESSES TO SHOW HOW NAMES FOR  
ALAMEDA COUNTY GRAND JURIES SELECTED.

WHYTE STATED HE DOES NOT <sup>X</sup>EXPECT THE SELECTION OF TRAIL JURY TO  
BEGIN UNTIL WEEK OF JULY SIX <sup>X</sup>NE<sup>ST</sup>.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

EX 101

RESFTEL JUNE TWENTYEIGHT LAST.

REC- 32

105-165429-451

END

2 JUL 1 1971

DEB AA WA DC FBI FOR SEVEN

96, 080408D  
58 JUL 7 - 1971

DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706)

6/24/71

SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-1204)

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)  
RACIAL MATTERS

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 11-18-82 BY 9542 BSA/ljs  
6-26-89 SP5 CJP  
Original handled

ReBuairtel 6/18/71.

The information mentioned in paragraph two of reairtel was furnished the Bureau previously in the following communications:

San Francisco report 1/14/71, entitled HUEY PERCY NEWTON; this report contains information concerning NEWTON's "Survival Program".

San Francisco LHM 1/27/71, entitled HUEY PERCY NEWTON, which set forth the complete text of NEWTON's speech at Boston College, 11/18/70, concerning "The Survival Program".

San Francisco LHM 3/8/71, captioned BPP - INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, which set forth the text of NEWTON's interview on the JIM DUNBAR television show KGO-TV, 2/26/71, in which NEWTON first used the phrase publicly of "survival pending revolution".

San Francisco LHM 3/22/71, entitled HUEY PERCY NEWTON, reporting the NEWTON - LOUIS FREEMAN "Black Montage" program on radio station KDIA, 2/28/71, in which NEWTON again used the term "survival pending revolution".

New York LHM 5/25/71, concerning NEWTON's appearance on the DAVID FROST Show 5/14/71, in which NEWTON pointed out that the Panthers believed in "non-violence".

Milwaukee LHM 6/2/71, entitled HUEY PERCY NEWTON which set forth the text of NEWTON's speech at the University of Wisconsin, 4/3/71, concerning the "survival program".

San Francisco LHM 6/4/71, entitled HUEY PERCY NEWTON which set forth the full text of NEWTON's 5/30/71, speech at the "Black Odyssey Festival", Berkeley, California, in which NEWTON expounded his "survival program" theories.

2 - Bureau (RM-RRR)  
2 - San Francisco

DET/jr

(4)

NOT RECORDED

154 JUN 29 1971

51 JUL 13 1971



SF 157-1204  
DET/jr

San Francisco LHM entitled BPP - ORGANIZATION, 5/18/71, reported that the party was dropping the term NCCF and that all Panther groups in the future would be known as BPP Chapters.

The recent statements by JOHN SEALE and [redacted] concerning the decision to discontinue publicizing purges in order to avoid pinpointing purged individuals to law enforcement is being included in the current investigative report concerning the BPP now in the process of preparation and this will be submitted to the Bureau in the immediate future.

b6  
b7C

San Francisco LHM 5/20/71, entitled [redacted] San Francisco LHM 4/5/71 entitled STRONGHOLD CONSOLIDATED PRODUCTIONS and Los Angeles LHM 4/30/71 entitled [redacted] all contain information concerning [redacted] relationship with NEWTON. The intimate relationship between [redacted] and NEWTON was not submitted in LHM form for dissemination since this appears to be a personal escapade only and was included in the bi-weekly airtel summary as background information. However, an LHM concerning this relationship is being submitted.

WFO LHM 5/3/71, entitled BPP - TRAVEL OF LEADERSHIP, set forth information concerning ELDRIDGE CLEAVER's travels in the Congo.

CIA teletype to the Bureau 5/8/71, contained the same information but it was marked specifically by CIA "no dissemination" and therefore was not submitted in LHM form.

San Francisco LHM 3/24/71, entitled BPP - INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, contained the information concerning the European solidarity groups and the Red Panthers.

Paris LHM 5/19/71, entitled BPP - INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, reported the factionalism among BPP supporters in France.

In accordance with Bureau instructions, this office will continue to prepare LHM for dissemination of pertinent BPP activities.

In addition, the BPP investigative report, which pursuant to Bureau instructions must be submitted semi-annually, but which has been submitted on more frequent intervals by this office will continue to correlate for dissemination purposes all important developments and activities on the part of the BPP.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165429)

DATE: 6/30/71

FROM : SAC, MINNEAPOLIS (157-877) (RUC)

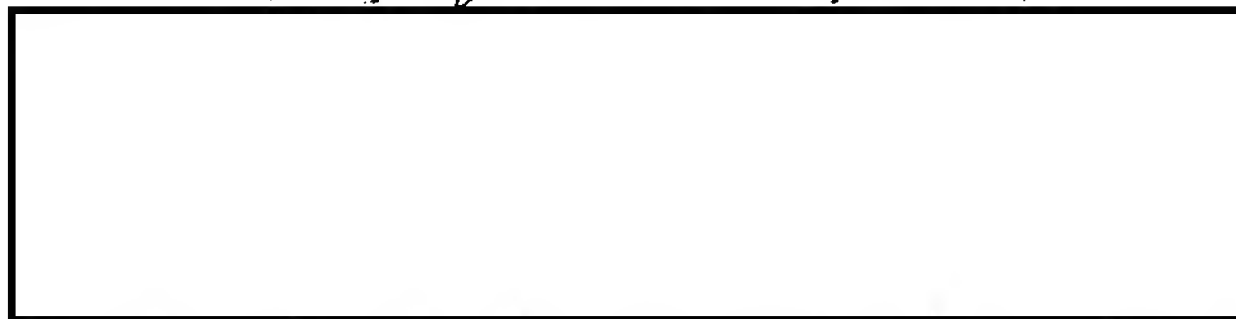
SUBJECT: HUEY PERCY NEWTON, aka;  
RM - BPP; TREASON (KBE)

OO: SAN FRANCISCO

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 6-26-87 BY SP5C

Re Milwaukee airtel to Bureau dated June 2, 1971,  
enclosing LHM of the same date.

Page 18 of referenced LHM indicated that Minnesota  
licenses registered to the following persons were observed in  
a parking lot during the speech of HUEY PERCY NEWTON at  
Madison, Wisconsin, on April 3, 1971:



b6  
b7C

Indices of the Minneapolis Division indicate that  
the above persons are all on the Security Index from the  
Minneapolis Division and have been identified by sources as  
members of the Worker's League in the Minneapolis area.

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
  - 2 - Milwaukee (157-1113) (RM)
  - 2 - San Francisco (157-3765) (RM)
  - 1 - Minneapolis
- DTD:mjt  
(7)

EX-117

REC-37

105-165429-45

JUL 6 1971

RACIAL INT. SECT.



54 JUL 9 1971

FHU

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JUN 30 1971

TELETYPE

NR 006 SF PLAIN

6:30PM NITEL 6/30/71 FCO

TO: DIRECTOR (105-165429)

FROM: SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 6-26-89 BY SP5G/PA

|              |       |
|--------------|-------|
| Mr. Tolson   | _____ |
| Mr. Sullivan | _____ |
| Mr. Mohr     | _____ |
| Mr. Bishop   | _____ |
| Mr. Brennan  | _____ |
| Mr. Casper   | _____ |
| Mr. Callahan | _____ |
| Mr. Conrad   | _____ |
| Mr. Felt     | _____ |
| Mr. Gale     | _____ |
| Mr. Rosen    | _____ |
| Mr. Sullivan | _____ |
| Mr. Tavel    | _____ |
| Mr. Trotter  | _____ |
| Tele. Room   | _____ |
| Miss Holmes  | _____ |
| Miss Gandy   | _____ |

HUEY P. NEWTON, AKA. RM - BPP (KBE)

DONALD WHYTE, ALAMEDA COUNTY ASSISTANT DISTRICT ATTORNEY AT  
OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA, THIS DATE ADVISED AS FOLLOWS:

CHARLES R. GARRY, DEFENSE ATTORNEY IN NEWTON TRAIL CONTINUED  
HIS QUESTIONING OF ALAMEDA COUNTY SUPERIOR COURT JUDGES AND JURY  
COMMISSIONER RE MAKEUP OF GRAND AND PETIT JURY PANELS. COURT RECESSED  
UNTIL TOMORROW WHEN ARGUMENTS WILL BE HEARD ON DEFENSE MOTIONS  
CHALLENGING THE JURY PANELS.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

RESFTEL JUNE TWENTYNINE LAST.

END

RECD THREE

KPT FBI WASH

CLR

EX-117

REC 17

453

62 JUL 8 1971

F B I

Date: 6/24/71

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706)  
 FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (157-1291) (P)  
 SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY -  
 CHICAGO DIVISION  
 RM - BPP  
 (OO: SAN FRANCISCO)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/27/81 BY SP2 [redacted] /ep  
 6-26-87 SP5 [redacted] /ep

On 6/22/71, [redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past and who has been assigned the permanent symbol CG T-6 in captioned matter, provided the following:

b2  
 b6  
 b7C

[redacted] a member of the Illinois Chapter of the BPP, Chicago, was in contact with [redacted] of that Chapter, in which regard [redacted] inquired as to the possibility of obtaining the services of Minister HUEY NEWTON for an engagement in Chicago in late September, 1971. [redacted] was advised by [redacted] that "the Minister" is not performing public speaking engagements any longer.

The above is provided for the information of the Bureau and San Francisco.

IN THE EVENT THE ABOVE IS DISSEMINATED, IT SHOULD BE PARAPHRASED AND CLASSIFIED CONFIDENTIAL.

- 3 - Bureau (RM)  
 (1 - 105-165429) (HUEY P. NEWTON)  
 3 - San Francisco (157-1904) (RM)  
 (1 - 157-1203) (HUEY P. NEWTON)  
 4 - Chicago  
 (1 - 157-1291 SUB F)

CES/sls  
 (10)

SEARCH COPY

b6  
 b7C

NOT RECORDED

100 JUL 8 1971

57 JUL 9 1971  
 Approved: [redacted] Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-100-100-2314



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JUL 6 1971

|              |       |
|--------------|-------|
| Mr. Tolson   | _____ |
| Mr. Sullivan | _____ |
| Mr. Mohr     | _____ |
| Mr. Bishop   | _____ |
| Mr. Brennan  | _____ |
| Mr. Callahan | _____ |
| Mr. Casper   | _____ |
| Mr. Conrad   | _____ |
| Mr. Dalbey   | _____ |
| Mr. Felt     | _____ |
| Mr. Gale     | _____ |
| Mr. Rosen    | _____ |
| Mr. Tavel    | _____ |
| Mr. Walters  | _____ |
| Mr. Soyars   | _____ |
| Mr. Beaver   | _____ |
| Tele. Room   | _____ |
| Miss Holmes  | _____ |
| Miss Gandy   | _____ |

NR 006 SF PLAINTEXT

6:51 PM NITEL 7/6/71 CRH

TO: DIRECTOR (105-165429)

FROM: SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203)

TELETYPE  
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 6-26-87 BY 3

HUEY P. NEWTON, AKA., RM - BPP (KBE).

DONALD WHYTE, ALAMEDA COUNTY DISTRICT ATTORNEY'S OFFICE,  
OAKLAND, CALIF., ON JULY SIX INSTANT, ADVISED THAT MOTION BY  
DEFENSE TO SQUASH ADMISSABILITY OF NEWTON'S PRIOR CONVICTION  
IN NINETEEN SIXTYFOUR DENIED. SELECTION OF JURY BEGAN BUT NO  
JURORS YET SELECTED AND IT IS ANTICIPATED IT WILL TAKE REMAINDER  
OF THIS WEEK TO SELECT JURY.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

RESFTEL JULY TWO LAST.

UACB, SAN FRANCISCO WILL NOT SUBMIT A DAILY TELETYPE  
CONCERNING SELECTION OF JURY UNTIL JURY COMPLETED. THIS CASE  
WILL BE CLOSELY FOLLOWED HOWEVER, AND BUREAU WILL BE APPROPRIATELY  
ADVISED OF PERTINENT DEVELOPMENTS.

END

RECD FIVE

KPT FBI WASH

CLR

EX-100

REC-11

105-127427-454

70 JUL 12 1971

b6  
b7C

FBI

Date: 6/25/71

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165429)

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203) (P)

SUBJECT: HUEY P. NEWTON, aka  
RM - BPP  
(KEY BLACK EXTREMIST)  
OO: San FranciscoALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 6-26-82 BY SP5CJ  
401Enclosed for the Bureau are five (5) copies of  
an LHM concerning Subject.The enclosed LHM is classified "~~confidential~~"  
to protect the identity of the sources, disclosure of  
which could affect the national defense adversely.

Source one is

Source two is

b2

The article mentioned in the LHM, captioned  
"Statement By HUEY P. NEWTON To The Black Odyssey Festival"  
on 5/19/71 was submitted to the Bureau by airtel and LHM on  
6/4/71.The article appearing in the 6/5/71 issue of "The  
Black Panther" concerning black capitalism by NEWTON, as  
mentioned in the enclosed LHM, was furnished to the Bureau  
by airtel and LHM dated 6/10/71.The article by NEWTON concerning the movie "Sweet  
Sweetback" that appeared in the 6/19/71 issue of "The Black  
Panther" newspaper will be furnished to the Bureau by LHM.

2 - Bureau (Encl. 5) (RM)

3 - San Francisco

(1 - 100-51311) (J. HERMAN BLAKE)

JLC/wgs  
(5)

Copies to ISO, IDIU, SS

7/7/71

JLA/jm

Approved: F22  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

70 JUL 12 1971



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

San Francisco, California

June 25, 1971

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED BY

ON 6-26-87

SP5CJ  
YPT

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

On May 26, 1971, source one reported that [redacted] [redacted] was editing a transcript of a speech by Huey P. Newton, Minister of Defense of the Black Panther Party (BPP), which Newton had made on May 19, 1971 at the Black Odyssey Festival, Berkeley, California. According to the source, after [redacted] had completed the editing of the transcript, the text of the speech would be printed in the May 29, 1971 issue of "The Black Panther" newspaper.

b6  
b7C

[redacted]

The BPP is a black extremist organization started in Oakland, California, in December, 1966. It advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics to bring about the overthrow of the United States Government.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~Group 1~~

Excluded from automatic  
Downgrading and  
Declassification

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

ENCLOSURE

455

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

The May 29, 1971 issue of "The Black Panther" contained the text of Newton's speech mentioned above.

On May 29, 1971, a second source reported that [ ] had told Newton on that date [ ] hopes to have the book he is currently writing about Newton and the BPP completed around June 1, 1971. Newton requested [ ] edit transcripts of speeches previously given by Newton and include those speeches in the book.

On June 11, 1971, second source reported that [ ] was then writing an article for Newton to be printed in the June 19, 1971 issue of "The Black Panther." This article will be a critique of the movie "Sweet Sweetback" and taken from notes made by Newton and Newton's secretary, Gwen Hodges, when they had viewed the film.

b6  
b7C

On the same date, this source also reported that an article by Newton appearing in the June 5, 1971 issue of "The Black Panther" had been rewritten and edited [ ]. This article was captioned "Black Capitalism Re-Analyzed," and it states that black businessmen should contribute to the BPP in return for which the BPP would advertise the donor "free" and its newspaper so the community and the people would know whom to support.

The article concerning the movie "Sweet Sweetback" appeared in the June 19, 1971 issue of "The Black Panther" as scheduled.

On June 6, 1971, Newton traveled to New York City to meet with Melvin Van Peebles, producer and director of the movie "Sweet Sweetback." Newton took with him a film titled "The Death of Fred Hampton," which he hoped to have Van Peebles review in an effort to secure Van Peebles' support in having the Hampton film shown in theaters as a co-feature with "Sweet Sweetback." Newton returned from New York on June 8, 1971.

On June 10, 1971, source two reported that while in New York City, Newton went to the offices of Cinemation, the distributant office for the film "Sweet Sweetback." When Newton arrived at the office, he encountered a white man, who

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

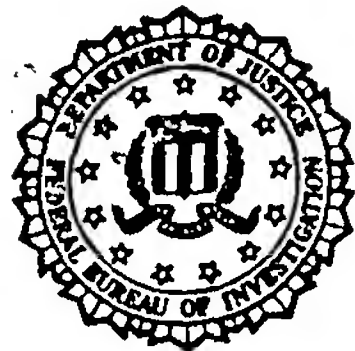
was supposedly in charge of the office, and the white man immediately inquired as to why Newton had come to that office. Words of anger were exchanged between Newton and this individual, and Newton threatened to slap the face of this "rich cat" and take over his office. However, Van Peebles arrived before any blows were struck and proceeded with Newton to Van Peebles' residence for discussion. According to [ ] who accompanied Newton to the office and residence of Van Peebles, the residence was a filthy place, presided over by the "ugliest white woman in New York, and who Newton described as "looking like a woodpecker."

b6  
b7C

According to this source, Newton and [ ] dined with Van Peebles in his residence, but that Newton had to get drunk in order to "take it." Van Peebles supposedly showed his black supremacy theories by ordering the white woman around, and [ ] complained that his flea-ridden cat kept jumping up on her while at the residence. Newton discussed with Van Peebles his desires to have Van Peebles review the film "The Death of Fred Hampton," and Van Peebles agreed to take it to a screening room and look it over. However, Newton was certain that Van Peebles was not interested in the film because when it was returned to Newton the next day, Newton noted that the seal on the canister containing the film had not been broken. Newton complained to the source that Van Peebles did not bother to even come to the airport to see Newton before he returned to California and instead sent his woman with the film. As a result of this meeting with Van Peebles, Newton concluded that any social message in "Sweet Sweetback" had gotten into the picture by accident, and what Newton saw in the film was not a self-projection of Van Peebles, but only Newton's own interpretation. In that regard, Newton stated that Van Peebles showed a lack of social consciousness concerning the movie, and Newton was disillusioned with Van Peebles after their meeting. Newton further claimed that Van Peebles was really "bad" and he did not understand his own movie.

-3\*-

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

San Francisco, California

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

June 25, 1971

Title                    HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Character

Reference              San Francisco letterhead  
                         memorandum, dated and  
                         captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities  
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable  
information in the past.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165429)

DATE: July 6, 1971

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (157-3765)

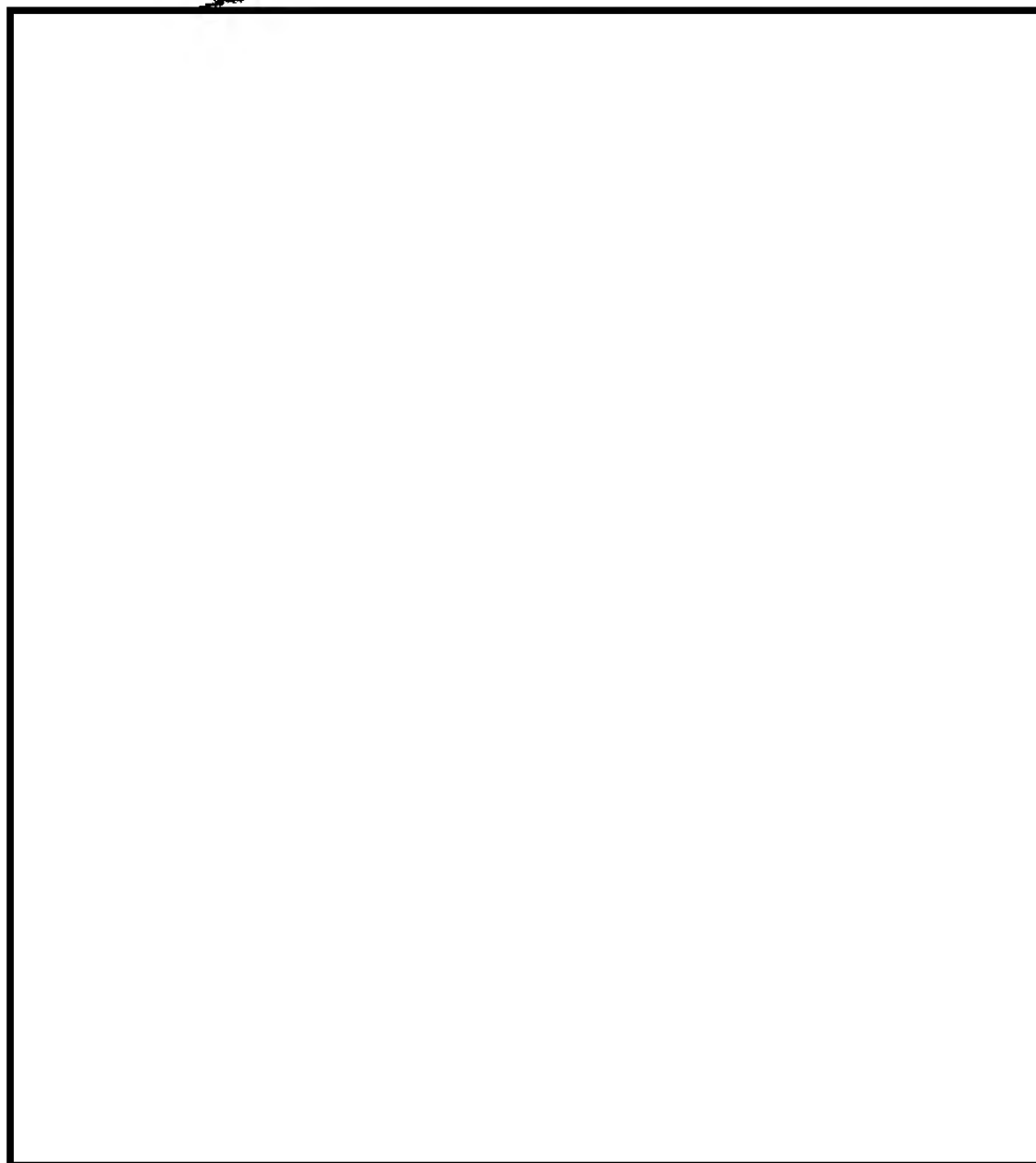
SUBJECT: HUEY PERCY NEWTON, aka  
RM - BPP;  
TREASON (KBE)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 6-26-82 BY SP5C/

(OO: San Francisco)

Re Milwaukee airtel and LHM dated 6/2/71.

Referenced LHM, pages 16 and 17, listed the following individuals as holders of automobile licenses of vehicles parked in the vicinity of Jay's Bar, Route 51, Madison, Wisconsin, on April 3, 1971. HUEY P. NEWTON, Minister of Defense of the Black Panther Party, was the principal speaker at a BPP affair held at that bar on that date:



b6  
b7C

EX-114

456

REC-23

- ② - Bureau (RM)
- 1 - Milwaukee (157-1113) (Info) (RM)
- 1 - San Francisco (157-1203) (Info) (RM)
- 2 - Chicago
- 1 - 157-3715

CES/jto  
(6)

10 JUL 8 1971

RACIAL INT. SECT.  
INT. SEC.

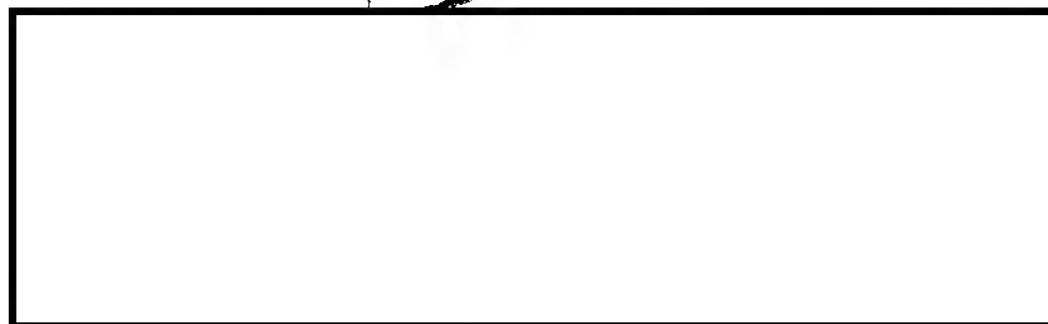


58 JUL 16 1971

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

CG 157-3765

Chrysler Leasing Corporation  
Avis Rent-A-Car  
10319 Belle Plaine  
Schiller Park, Illinois  
1971 Dodge four door



b6  
b7C

Indices of the Chicago Office contained no references identifiable with any of the above captioned individuals.

The following confidential informants who are familiar with BPP activities or members of the Illinois Chapter of the BPP in Chicago, advised as of June 25, 1971, they could furnish no information regarding the above individuals and knew none of them to be affiliated in anyway with the BPP:



It is noted that the two automobiles bearing Illinois license plates assigned to the Avis Rent-A-Car Company were according to [redacted] rented by [redacted] at the request of the BPP in Chicago and carried members of the Illinois Chapter of the BPP to Madison on April 3, 1971, to serve as bodyguards for HUEY P. NEWTON following his arrival by air. The identities of those serving in this capacity other than [redacted] are unknown.

b2  
b6  
b7C  
b7D

In view of the above, Chicago is taking no further action in this matter.



FBI

Date: 6/25/71

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL - REGISTERED  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165429)

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203) (P)

SUBJECT: HUEY P. NEWTON, aka.  
RM - BPP  
(KEY BLACK EXTREMIST)  
OO: San Francisco

DECLASSIFIED BY  
ON

Enclosed for the Bureau are five (5) copies of  
an LHM concerning activities of Subject.

The enclosed LHM is classified ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ to  
protect the identity of the source, the disclosure of which could  
affect the national defense adversely.

Source utilized in the LHM is [REDACTED]

Two (2) copies of this communication are being  
furnished to Los Angeles Office for information inasmuch  
as [REDACTED] reside within that division.

b2  
b6  
b7C

Copies to ISD, IDIU, SS

7/7/71

JLC/jb

1cc 806

EX-105

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) BY RLW  
DATE 4/3/83

REC-39

- 2 - Bureau (Enc. 5) (RM)
- 2 - Los Angeles (Enc. 2) (RM)
- 4 - San Francisco

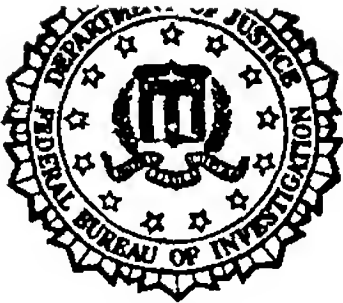
JLC/jb #S-3  
(8)

7 JUN 30 1971

b6  
b7C

Approved: [Signature]  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

San Francisco, California

June 25, 1971

HUEY P. NEWTON

8-11-82 1678 RFP/Djs  
SP5W/6pt 6-26-87

On June 23, 1971, source reported that [redacted] from Los Angeles, California, had arrived at the apartment of Huey P. Newton, Black Panther Party (BPP) Minister of Defense, 1200 Lakeshore Avenue, Apartment 25A, Oakland, California, at approximately 7:15 P.M. on that date. Indications are that [redacted] travelled from Los Angeles to Oakland via air.

b6  
b7C

The BPP is a black extremist organization started in Oakland, California in December 1966. It advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics to bring about the overthrow of the United States government.



b6  
b7C

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
Group I  
Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

16-4-4-457

RECEIVED

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

HUEY P. NEWTON

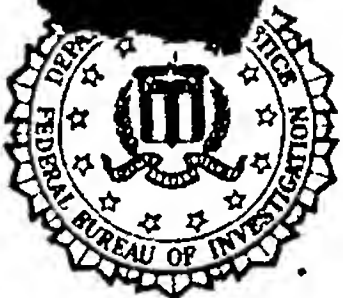
Source further advised that [ ] spent the night of June 23-24, 1971 in Newton's apartment and that no discussions concerning BPP policy and procedure took place.

b6  
b7C

[ ] Source also reported on June 24, 1971 that [ ] departed Newton's apartment at approximately 11:15 A.M., June 24, 1971 to return to Los Angeles.

- 2\* -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

San Francisco, California

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

June 25, 1971

Title                    HUEY P. NEWTON

Character

Reference                San Francisco memorandum  
dated and captioned as above,  
at San Francisco, California

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities  
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable  
information in the past.



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JUL 2 1971

TELETYPE

NR 013 SF PLAIN

8:58PM NITEL 7/1/71 FCO

TO: DIRECTOR (105-165429)

FROM: SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 6-26-87 BY SP5 ELS

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Brennan CD \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Dalbey \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Soyars \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Beaver \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
andy \_\_\_\_\_

HUEY P. NEWTON, AKA., RM - BPP (KBE).

ROBERT BERNARD, ALAMEDA COUNTY DISTRICT ATTORNEY'S OFFICE AT  
OAKLAND, CALIF., THIS DATE ADVISED AS FOLLOWS:

JUDGE DISALLOWED DEFENSE CHALLENGE OF GRAND JURY PANEL.

PRE-TRIAL PROCEEDINGS TODAY COVERED DEFENSE MOTION TO EXCLUDE  
EVIDENCE OF NEWTON'S PRIOR CONVICTION IN NINETEEN SIXTYFOUR FOR AN  
ASSAULT WITH KNIFE, AND INVOLVED TESTIMONY FROM NEWTON THAT HE WAS  
UNAWARE OF HIS RIGHT TO REMAIN SILENT WHEN HE TESTIFIED IN NINETEEN  
SIXTYFOUR. EVIDENCE OF SUBJECT'S PRIOR CONVICTION IS IMPORTANT  
INASMUCH AS IT ALLOWS STATE TO ASK FOR A SENTENCE OF TWO TO FIFTEEN  
YEARS FOR MANSLAUGHTER. DISTRICT ATTORNEY EXPECTS MATTER OF EXCLUSION  
OF PRIOR CONVICTION WILL BE DISPOSED OF TOMORROW AND SELECTION OF  
JURY MEMBERS WILL BE NEXT ORDER OF BUSINESS.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

RESFTEL JUNE THIRTY LAST.

END

HOLD

EX 101

REC-39

458

JUL 2 1971

JUL 13 1971

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JUL 2 1971

TELETYPE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 6-26-87 BY SP5C

Mr. Tolson\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Sullivan\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Bishop\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. BrennanCDL\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Casper\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Dalbey\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Felt\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gale\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Walters\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Soyars\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Holmes\_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy\_\_\_\_\_

NR 007 SF PLAIN

8:00 PM NITEL 7/2/71 FCO

TO: DIRECTOR (105-165429)

FROM: SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203)

HUEY P. NEWTON, AKA., RM - BPP (KBE)

JACK MEEHAN, ALAMEDA COUNTY DISTRICT ATTORNEY'S OFFICE AT  
OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA, JULY TWO INSTANT, ADVISED AS FOLLOWS:

PRE-TRIAL TESTIMONY IN HUEY P. NEWTON CASE CONTINUED THIS DATE  
CONCERNING ADMISSABILITY OF NEWTON'S PRIOR CONVICTION IN NINETEEN  
SIXTYFOUR. BOTH SIDES ARGUED MATTER AFTER COMPLETION OF TESTIMONY  
AND SUPERIOR COURT JUDGE ADVISED THAT HE WILL RULE ON THE MATTER JULY  
SIX NEXT.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

RESFNITEL JULY ONE LAST.

END

HOLD

REC 20

17 JUL 9 1971

61 JUL 19 1971  
MR. TRAINOR  
ROOM 712-A 9&D

BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JUL 10 1971

TELETYPE

|              |       |
|--------------|-------|
| Mr. Tolson   | _____ |
| Mr. Sullivan | _____ |
| Mr. Mohr     | _____ |
| Mr. Bishop   | _____ |
| Mr. Brennan  | CDV   |
| Mr. Callahan | _____ |
| Mr. Casper   | _____ |
| Mr. Conrad   | _____ |
| Mr. Dalbey   | _____ |
| Mr. Felt     | _____ |
| Mr. Gale     | _____ |
| Mr. Rosen    | _____ |
| Mr. Tavel    | _____ |
| Mr. Walters  | _____ |
| Mr. Soyars   | _____ |
| Mr. Beaver   | _____ |
| Tele. Room   | _____ |
| Miss Holmes  | _____ |
| Miss Gandy   | _____ |

NR 001 SF PLAIN

4 32 PM NITEL 7/10/71 BEH

TO: DIRECTOR (105-165429)

FROM: SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203) (P)

HUEY P. NEWTON, AKA, RM - BPP (KBE).

DONALD P. WHYTE, ALAMEDA COUNTY DISTRICT ATTORNEY'S OFFICE  
OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA, ADVISED THAT ON JULY NINE LAST SELECTION OF  
ALTERNATE JURORS FOR NEWTON'S TRIAL WAS COMPLETED. JURY MADE  
UP OF TEN WOMEN AND TWO MEN. ALTERNATE JURORS ARE TWO BLACK MEN,  
ONE BLACK WOMAN AND ONE WHITE WOMAN.

DEFENSE ATTORNEY, CHARLES R. GARRY, AND ASSISTANT DISTRICT  
ATTORNEY WHYTE, DELIVERED OPENING STATEMENTS ON JULY NINE LAST  
AND THEN CASE RECESSED UNTIL TEN A.M. JULY TWELVE NEXT.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

RE SAN FRANCISCO TELETYPE JULY EIGHT LAST.

BUREAU WILL BE KEPT ADVISED.

END

EX-105

REC-47 105-165429-460

JUL 13 1971

DRL FBI WASH DC

15D  
JUL 15 1971

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JUL 8 1971

TELETYPE

|              |  |
|--------------|--|
| Mr. Tolson   |  |
| Mr. Sullivan |  |
| Mr. Mohr     |  |
| Mr. Bishop   |  |
| Mr. Brennan  |  |
| Mr. Callahan |  |
| Mr. Casper   |  |
| Mr. Conrad   |  |
| Mr. DeLoach  |  |
| Mr. Felt     |  |
| Mr. Gale     |  |
| Mr. Rosen    |  |
| Mr. Tavel    |  |
| Mr. Walters  |  |
| Mr. Soyars   |  |
| Mr. Beaver   |  |
| Tele. Room   |  |
| Miss Holmes  |  |
| Miss Gandy   |  |

NR 004 SF PLAIN

9:44 AM URGENT 7/8/71 MCC

TO DIRECTOR (105-165429)

FROM SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203) 1P

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 6-26-82 BY SP5CH/pt

HUEY P. NEWTON, AKA., RM - BPP (KBE).

DONALD WHYTE, ALAMEDA COUNTY DISTRICT ATTORNEY'S OFFICE, OAKLAND, CALIF., ADVISED SELECTION OF JURY FOR NEWTON'S TRIAL COMPLETED AND OPENING STATEMENTS ARE TO BEGIN MORNING OF JULY EIGHT INSTANT.

JURY CONSISTS OF TEN WOMEN AND TWO MEN, WHICH INCLUDES ONE BLACK, ONE LATINO AND ONE GRADUATE STUDENT AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA. A BLACK WAREHOUSEMAN AND A JAPANESE WOMAN WERE SELECTED AS ALTERNATES.

ADMINISTRATIVE

RESFTEL JULY SIX LAST.

BUREAU WILL BE KEPT ADVISED OF PERTINENT DEVELOPMENTS.

END

53 JUL 20 1971 MR. BRENNAN

MR. SULLIVAN FOR THE DIRECTOR

b6  
b7C



FBI

Date: 7/6/71

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL - REGISTERED  
(Priority)

|              |       |
|--------------|-------|
| Mr. Tolson   | _____ |
| Mr. Felt     | _____ |
| Mr. Sullivan | _____ |
| Mr. Mohr     | _____ |
| Mr. Bishop   | _____ |
| Mr. Callahan | _____ |
| Mr. Casper   | _____ |
| Mr. Conrad   | _____ |
| Mr. DeLoach  | _____ |
| Mr. Gale     | _____ |
| Mr. Rosen    | _____ |
| Mr. Tavel    | _____ |
| Mr. Walters  | _____ |
| Mr. Soyars   | _____ |
| Tele. Room   | _____ |
| Miss Holmes  | _____ |
| Miss Gandy   | _____ |

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165429)

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203)

SUBJECT: HUEY PERCY NEWTON aka  
RM - BPP  
(KEY BLACK EXTREMIST)  
OO: San Francisco

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 6-26-87 BY SP5CJ/pt

b6  
b7C

Re San Francisco airtel and LHM dated 6/25/71.

Enclosed for the Bureau are five (5) copies of an LHM setting forth article by Subject which appeared in the 6/19/71 issue of "The Black Panther" newspaper.

The enclosed LHM is classified "~~confidential~~" to protect the identity of the source, disclosure of which could affect the national defense adversely.

Source is

b2

ENCLOSURE

REC-39

EX-100

105-165429-462

JUL 13 1971

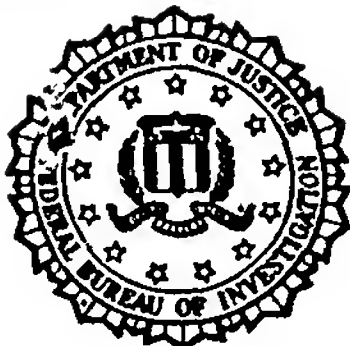
- Bureau (Encls. 5) (RM)
- San Francisco
- /pkv

Copies 150, 1014, 55  
7/15/71  
JLA/jps

b6  
b7C

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

1971 Special Agent in Charge



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

San Francisco, California

July 6, 1971

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

DECLASSIFIED BY SP SC  
ON 6-26-87

On June 11, 1971, a source reported that Huey Percy Newton, Minister of Defense of the Black Panther Party (BPP), had viewed the movie, "Sweet Sweetback" in an Oakland, California theatre on two or three occasions and had liked the movie so much that he wanted to write an article about it to be printed in "The Black Panther" newspaper. Newton took [redacted] with him to view the movie, and they made written notes about the film, from which the article would be prepared.

The BPP is a Black extremist organization started in Oakland, California, in December, 1966. It advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics to bring about the overthrow of the United States Government.

b6  
b7C

On the same date, the source advised that [redacted] was using the notes made by Newton and [redacted] on the movie "Sweet Sweetback" and was in the process of writing an article for Newton to be printed in the June 19, 1971 issue of "The Black Panther" newspaper. This article will be a critique of the movie "Sweet Sweetback", and Newton will be shown as the author when it is printed in the BPP newspaper.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
~~GROUP 1~~  
~~Excluded from automatic~~  
~~downgrading and~~  
~~declassification~~

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

462

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

HUEY PERCY NEWTON



b6  
b7C

The article concerning the movie "Sweet Sweetback" appeared in the June 19, 1971 issue of "The Black Panther" newspaper as scheduled. An introduction to the article was written by BPP Chairman Bobby Seale and several photographs from the movie accompanied the article. Following is the introduction and the article as it appeared in the BPP newspaper:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



# HE WON'T BLEED ME

A REVOLUTIONARY ANALYSIS OF SWEET SWEETBACK'S BAADASSSSS SONG  
BY HUEY P. NEWTON, MINISTER OF DEFENSE, THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY,  
SERVANT OF THE PEOPLE WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY BOBBY SEALE,  
CHAIRMAN THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

The feeling that I have now that I am back on the scene with Brother Huey P. Newton is one where I remember the time when Brother Huey was always there to interpret the cultural things and symbolic forms and expressions of the people in different forms of art. This was over three and a half years ago, the last time Brother Huey and I were together.

Now that I am back on the scene I have had the chance to be with many righteous Party members and community people. Together we have shared the experience of going to the theatre to see "Sweet Sweetback" the latest movie on the set. Our Minister of Defense, righteous, beautiful Brother Huey P. Newton was there interpreting all the symbolic meanings of the movie, and showing the essence of the real-life experience of the Black community as it is put together in "Sweet Sweetback."

It seems that it has taken nothing more than the fact that Brother Huey P. Newton is free, and now I find myself free from Jail Number One and out in the larger social prison. But we are with our people in the Black community and Brother Huey P. Newton is now giving forth a profound in-depth analysis, a beautiful revolutionary people's analysis of "Sweet Sweetback." He is grasping for us the people all the symbolic meanings of the movie and explaining them to us.

When we have read the analysis given by Brother Huey we should unite as brothers and sisters in the struggle and go back and see "Sweet Sweetback" but not to be entertained, we should do it because we can be educated and our consciousness and understanding can be increased. I am going to see it again with Brother Huey's analysis as my guide. I hope you will too.  
Bobby Seale

THE BLACK PANTHER SATURDAY JUNE 19, 1971



The very popular movie produced and directed by Melvin Van Peebles called "Sweet Sweetback's Baadasssss Song" contains many very important messages for the entire Black community. On many levels Van Peebles is attempting to communicate some crucial ideas, and motivate us to a deeper understanding and then action based upon that understanding. He has certainly made effective use of one of the most popular forms of communication--the movie--and he is dealing in revolutionary terms. The only reason this movie is available to us with its many messages is because Black people have given it their highest support. The corporate capitalist would never let such an important message be given to the community if they were not so greedy. They are so anxious to bleed us for more profits that they either ignore or fail to recognize the many ideas in the film, but because we have supported the movie with our attendance we are able to receive its message.

It is the first truly revolutionary Black film made and it is presented to us by a Black man. Many Black people who have seen the film have missed many of its significant points. I have seen the film several times and I have also talked to about 50 - 60 others who have seen it and each time I understand more.

When Van Peebles first presented the film he refused to submit it to the Motion Picture Association to be rated because he knew they were not

competent to judge its content. He knew the film was not something which would upset the Black community because of its explicitness. He wanted youth and children to see it because he knew they would understand it. Yet the movie was given an "X" rating over his protests, thus making it impossible for the youth to see. But it has a real message for them, for just like "Moo Moo" one of the youthful characters in the movie, they are our future.

Melvin Van Peebles had great difficulty obtaining the funds to make this movie, therefore it is a low-budget movie. In some parts the sound and the lighting are not as good as they might have been if he could have had greater freedom to make the film. I have found that its messages and significance are clearer when I combine viewing the film with listening to the record of the sound track and reading the book. I would urge all of you who want to understand the deep meanings of the movie completely to also buy the record and the book. (NOTE: The book is available in paperback for \$1.00, and the record for \$5.98. Both may be obtained for \$6.00 by sending a check or money order to Lancey Books, 1560 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10036)

"Sweet Sweetback" blows my mind everytime I talk about it because it is so simple and yet so profound. It shows the robbery which takes place in the Black community and how we are the real victims. Then it shows how the victims must deal with their situation.

using many institutions and many approaches. It demonstrates that one of the key routes to our survival and the success of our resistance is unity.

"Sweet Sweetback" does all of this by using many aspects of the community, but in symbolic terms. That is, Van Peebles is showing one thing on the screen but saying something completely different to the audience. In other words he is signifying, and he is signifying some very heavy things. I am going to go through the film and analyze some of the scenes, and then I am going to talk about some of the general ideas put forth in this truly revolutionary movie.

When the movie opens we see the faces of the women; there are young faces and old faces, light faces and dark faces, but in all of them there is a sign of weariness, sadness, but also joy. You soon recognize that the women are in a house of love, a house of prostitution, a house of ill-repute, and of course it is all of these things, depending on what position you are viewing it from. This is the essence of the whole film, the victim and the oppressor looking at things in a much different way, from a different point of view.

The women are tired, yet they are happy. This is because they are feeding a small boy. As you look at the women you see that they are strong and beautiful Black women, definitely African in ancestry and symbolic of Mother Africa. The size of some of their

breasts signifies how Africa is potentially the breadbasket of the world. The women are feeding stew to a small boy who is apparently very hungry, and as he downs it they keep offering him more. These women with their large breasts potentially could feed and nourish the world, and if this is so, certainly they have the potential to raise their liberator, for that is what the small boy is, the future of the women, of Black people, liberation.

They are in a house of prostitution not of their own will, but because of the conditions the oppressor makes for us. They are there to survive, and they sell their love to do so, therefore our love is distorted and corrupted with the sale. When you have nothing else left you give up your body, just as when you are starving you might eat your fingers; but it's the conditions which cause this, not the desire to taste your own blood; you have to survive.

The women standing around the small boy are not saying anything but by continuing to nourish him they are telling him that they can give him more than enough, not only food, but much love. This love is not for sale, so therefore it is uncorrupted, it is pure love, sacred and holy. Even though the boy is weak and has many sores in his face, with the love and nourishment



of the women he can become a very strong man. The sores in his face come from malnutrition and poor health, and Van Peebles is signifying the fine line between survival and death. Even though the women can feed him and clear up his malnutrition, they cannot do it freely and totally, because they have to also sell, they have to sell in order to provide.

I have seen small children in the Brownsville section of Brooklyn, in West Oakland, in Chicago, and in Harlem with sores on their bodies like those on the boy's face. That is why we have health and food programs, because we are determined to make them healthy again. The women in the film are doing the same thing. They know he is their future and so they give him love and nourishment that he might become a strong man, but not just a man in the physical sense, but that he might become a liberator.

Next we see the boy is healthy and growing, working as a towel boy in the house of prostitution. Then we see the prostitute making love to him. But this was a scene of pure love and therefore it was a sacred and holy act. Even though it was in a house of prostitution, it was not a distorted or corrupt thing. We see this by the very words the woman uses, because she tells the boy that he ain't at the photographer to get his picture taken; she tells him to move. In the background we hear religious music, signifying what is happening and what will happen later. First there is "Wade in the Water", and we recognize that

the boy is being baptized; then there is "This little light of mine, I'm gonna let it shine," signifying what will happen in the future. The music indicates that this is not a sexual scene,

this is a very sacred rite, for the boy, who was nourished to health, is now being baptized into manhood. And the act of love, the giving of manhood, is also bestowing upon the boy the characteristics which will deliver him from very difficult situations. People who look upon this as a sex scene miss the point completely; and people who look upon the movie as a sex movie miss the entire message of the film.

What happens is not a distorted act of prostitution even though it takes place in a house of prostitution. The place is profane because of the oppressive conditions, but so are our communities also oppressed. The Black community is often profane because of the dirtiness there, but this is not caused by the people, they are the victims of a very oppressive system. Yet within the heart of the community, just as in the film, the sacred rite of feeding and nourishing the youth goes on; they are brought to their manhood as liberators.

Van Peebles shows this in the film, because when the love scene is completed, the boy is no longer a boy, he has become a man. He doesn't have a climax until he reaches an adult age. Even though we may have sexual intercourse as children, we don't have a climax; it is an introduction which

makes it a part of something which is not alien to us. But in the film the climax came at the appropriate time, after he has become a man; that is, he has learned the deep significance of what she was trying to teach him. It wasn't an act or any mechanical sort of thing, but it was the building of his spirit.

So he grows a moustache while he is having sexual intercourse with her, from about 10 years old he ends up about 25. But as soon as he reaches a climax, that is, as soon as he becomes a man, then he is ready to go out and fight. This is symbolized by his putting on his hat, because when you put on your hat, it symbolizes that you are fixing to go somewhere.

The whole film is centered around movement, his putting on the hat to go, and his running and running. I think this shows the alienation he feels in his position. He is constantly in movement or "in the process". When you are in process you are always going or preparing to go. These symbols are used very well.

The oppressor would not view the love scene in the same way, because his whole introduction to sex is from a perverted perspective, divorced from his whole being. That is why he rated the film "X", because what he saw was a sex movie. We know that it is much more than that. He is introduced to sex as something outside of himself, while it is hard for us to remember our first sexual experience. It is not something outside of us. It grows in

us as any other part of our personality, and it is very integrated just as our arms, our hand or our breathing. This is why it was very necessary to have this young boy having this relationship in a place that is viewed from the outside as dirty and profane, because our community is also considered dirty and profane.

But we do love and we have holy experiences at the same time that we are being stripped of everything else. Then we sell that holiness in order to survive; but it's not holiness anymore, it's transformed by the sale. But nevertheless, the holiness is a part of us, so it serves us. But at the same time the holiness serves us, it remains as dirtiness to the outsider, because he is the cause of the profane conditions of the victims, and also because what he is getting is not love, but the sale of the prostitute.

To the boy she was not a prostitute because there was no money passed, instead she introduced him to the thing that would give him his fullness as a person and his survival in the end. She introduced it to him as a boy because it is said: "Train up a child in the way he should go; and when he is old, he will not depart from it." (Proverbs 22:6) Of course he won't depart from it, if it becomes an integral part of his personality, because to depart from it is to depart from himself. The women were giving the boy more than simply a survival thing because he was their hope, and this is why they feel happy



about the sacrifice they are making. You can see it on their faces when they are feeding him, or at the point of orgasm when the woman tells him that he has a sweet back, and that is where he gets his name. Not only is he baptized into his fullness as a man, he gets his name and his identity in this sacred rite.

Every time after that when Sweetback engages in sex with a sister, it is always an act of survival, and a step towards his liberation. That is why it is important not to view the movie as a sex film or the sexual scenes as actual sex acts. Van Peebles is righteously signifying to us all. The first scene was far from anything sexual, that is why the holy music during the scene. It is only dealing with sexual symbols, the real meaning is far away from anything sexual, and so deep that you have to call it religious.

When Sweetback puts on his hat he does not leave the house, he does not leave the victim's ghettos, he graduates and starts to perform there in a freak show. He would simulate sexual intercourse before an audience that paid to observe this scene. He starts out playing the part of a dyke, with false breasts and a beard, but then his fairy godmother comes along, he gets his wish and becomes a man before the audience, taking off his beard and showing his penis--it looks like a missile and shocks the audience.

While this is going on, the cops are harassing Beatie, the owner of the cat house. He has been paying them

off and doesn't want to be bothered, but they want one of his men as a scapegoat arrest. The cops break off their harassment from time to time and go over to observe the freak show, even though they have seen it many times.

Sweetback is now having sexual intercourse with the sister, but there is no holy music because it is not love; it is a performance given in order to survive. He is selling himself to the audience and the cops who are the real freaks. Dylan's "Ballad of The Thin Man" would apply here, because in the song the freaks go to see the geek who offers them a bone and they don't know why. But you see the audience or the freaks--including the cops--don't have to be there. They cause the conditions which make it necessary for people to go to these lengths to survive, and then they pay to see the performance the people put on. They are the real freaks and the people go through the act with real hostility and hatred for the people who cause them to be there in the first place.

There are also Blacks in the audience, and this is a stroke of genius by Van Peebles, because it symbolizes the total blindness of the audience of freaks. They are laughing at a situation, when they are in fact getting their heads cut off. That's like Dylan's sword swallower, who in the end will thank the audience for the loan, because they were really there, only they did not know it. The scene shows how far the oppressor will go, because when it is asked if anyone in the audience wants to challenge Sweetback, this white boy

couldn't hold his girlfriend down. The announcer would not let her go out there, because the police were watching.

The police, as I said, are taking payoffs and letting the house exist, and this is an indictment of them. Not only do they cause the conditions, they then pay to go see it, because it is amusing to them. But the freak show is not put on by freaks but by victims. The victim does what he has to do to survive because of his crippled and victimized position. The freak pays him for his laughter and the victim accepts the pay, but with vengeance in mind.

I think that it is ironic and also very symbolic that even while I am writing this, I can look out of my window and see the Oakland Auditorium where the Oakland Police Officers Assoc. is holding its annual circus. I don't see any Blacks going in. We are realizing more and more that it has always been a circus. They have tried to make a circus of our circumstances and our communities, but our awareness is growing and we are moving toward dealing with the situation in a very decisive manner, just like Sweet Sweetback did.

In the film and in the community the oppressor keeps demanding more and more from the victims--that is why they want one of Beatie's men. But this is also why the victim with the lowest levels of awareness will be

brought into consciousness and revolutionized because he is doing what he is doing in order to survive, but eventually his very survival is at stake. The oppressor won't even let your acts of survival continue, he tries to totally crush you, so that survival becomes a very revolutionary act. At the point of life and death, all of the hatred for the oppressor is unleashed for survival purposes.

The police in the film really don't want Sweetback. All they want to do is use him for a cover, because they are going after Moo Moo, the young revolutionary. Sweetback goes along with them because of his low level of consciousness. This is no hard task because when an individual victim acts without awareness of the situation, he is just like the organism that wants to survive. **THE UNITY COMES OUT OF CONSCIOUSNESS.**

For a short while Moo Moo and Sweetback are handcuffed together, but when the police start to beat the life out of Moo Moo, they separate them and tell Sweetback to stand aside. Sweetback attempts to look away from their beating of Moo Moo.

This shows the arrogance of the aggressor, thinking that he has all the control--his Jehovah complex. He thinks that he has his victims so completely in line, that this freak show performer who is paying them so that he can survive, will have no feelings for another victim.



Sweetback attempts to look away while the police are beating Moo Moo. Just the turning away is showing how much of the time the masses attempt to dismiss the atrocities of the oppressor, even when attempts are made to communicate to them. They will pretend that they are too busy with other things because they are trying to survive; but they fail to realize that their real survival depends upon their social consciousness and therefore unity. The oppressor will demand more and more of them until they will perish without that unity.

At its lowest level, survival is just the organism getting by as an individual person or as an individual family. What they must realize is that the oppressor will not allow that, he will keep demanding more--high unemployment, poor housing, poor health and poor education, and more taxes--until their very death. So they attempt to look away; but because of compassion and their identity with the whole situation, they cannot completely turn their backs, and this is what causes the neurosis of some Blacks.

But through Sweetback, Melvin Van Peebles is righteously signifying, and teaching the people what must really be done to survive. When Sweetback realizes that he cannot turn his back, he takes the handcuffs, the chains which have been used to hold him in slavery and he starts to kick ass. Using his handcuffs as a weapon against the oppressor rather than as the tool of submission, he downs both of the

policemen, almost cutting off their heads.

This is a very bloody scene, but it was very important that they showed the blood all the way up his arm. It makes me think of the statement by Frantz Fanon in his book *The Wretched of The Earth* where he says that the peasant creeps into the settler's room at night and cracks the settler's head open. Then the blood spurts across his face, and it is the only baptism he ever remembered.

The Black audiences really respond to this scene, because it is another baptism; but instead of wading in the water as Sweetback did earlier, this is a baptism in the blood. As each blow went down, you could hear the tension being released in the audience, because right at that moment it was a climax for the audience.

One of the few criticisms I have of this film is that there is no religious music behind this scene. This is no more a scene of violence than the earlier baptism was one of sex;

it was a growing into manhood. Sweetback grew into a man when he was in bed with that woman and he also grew to be a man when he busted the heads of his oppressors there. When he was with the woman, it was like a holy union, and when he takes the heads of his oppressors, it is like taking the sacrament for the first time. In the first baptism he did not become a whole man because he went into that freak show, but when he is baptized in the blood, he righteously moves on

to a higher level, because the next time he is with the police with handcuffs on, he gets away, and the time after than when he is with the police with handcuffs on in that pool hall, he knows what he must do and he does it.

Like I said before, Van Peebles is righteously signifying, because he engages the audience in a climax in the scene when Sweetback downs the police. What he does is equate the most ecstatic moments in the film with the actions he is encouraging the people to engage in, so he is advocating a bloody overthrow, because the victims want to survive.

The next point that Van Peebles develops in the film is the need of the Black community for greater unity, and how the lack of unity will only deliver us into the hands of our oppressors. What happens? Sweetback helps Moo Moo get up, but then Sweetback goes his own way and makes it back to the cat house and there he encounters Beatle. Beatle starts to give him advice, but everybody recognizes that Beatle is not really responding to Sweetback's situation. Van Peebles gets this point across beautifully. While he is giving this advice, Beatle is sitting on the toilet. He wipes himself, gets up, and without washing his hands, he takes a towel and wipes his face. This is signifying that what is coming out of Beatle's mouth is the same thing that is coming out the other end--shit and nothing else. Notice that Sweetback never says a word to

Beatle, but he does not have to, because Beatle is deaf--he cannot hear what is being said anyway.

When he leaves Beatle the camera shows Sweetback with a terrifying look on his face. He has realized that those he knows best have such a low level of awareness that he cannot expect aid from them. He realizes that the lack of unity is a very hurting thing, and when he walks out of Beatle's place, he walks right into the hands of the police, who pretend to be nice until they realize that he is not playing the part of the meek victim. Then they work him over thoroughly.

Sweetback is saved by that same community unity he failed to find with Beatle. The people rescue him by pretending to be in need of money, and

therefore they offer to wash the car of the police. Instead they are engaging in a very revolutionary act and they save the brother from the oppressor, while at the same time delivering a deadly blow to the police. What Sweetback has done for Moo Moo is repeated for him by the community.

Sweetback is on his own now, but he is locked into a pair of handcuffs. How does he get them off? Through unity. He goes to a woman who he has been with before, and she tells him to beg. This is obviously not the first time this has happened, but Sweetback cannot beg anymore because he has been trans-



formed by the baptism in blood. He needs her at this moment, but sexuality cannot be based on war any longer, it has to be based on love and unity. He makes love to her and after that the handcuffs are off. This signifies that it is the unity between the Black man and the Black woman which is able to liberate them both.

In his first baptism Sweetback acquired the ability to love, but he could only truly love and unify with the woman, when he had done away with the people who made his woman the oppressor's woman and himself the oppressor's man. Then they could really have the unity which is symbolic of the liberating love of the Black man and woman.

Sweetback is on his own again, but this time without the handcuffs. In the meantime the film takes us back to the cat house and his old boss Beatle. Beatle is being hassled by the police who want to know where to find Sweetback. Beatle doesn't really know, but if he did, he would have told them, because Beatle has no consciousness, he is deaf. And to prove how true this is, the police finally deafen him.

Sweetback moves through the community, looking for the assistance he needs to get away. He doesn't get all that he needs, but he gets all that each can give. At the church he gets a Black Ave Maria and the power sign. The minister recognizes that his religion is a hype, because he tells Sweetback that Moo Moo is giving the people the real religion.

At the gambling den he gets little apparent sympathy. The manager keeps telling him he is a dead man, and he really does not need money. In this scene Van Peebles is again showing the community of the victimized, just like the performers in the freak show, because the manager explains to Sweetback that he cannot make any money on his operation. By the time he gets finished paying off everybody who is exploiting him, he pays a dollar and a dime for every dollar he makes. This is another example of the oppressor demanding more and more of the victims.

But the gambler does what he can - he gives Sweetback a ride. There is some unity, but not enough; and during the ride Sweetback spots Moo Moo, the man he left behind, and they are reunited. This is as it should be, because Sweetback is leaving the community with the person who was the beginning of all this, Moo Moo. They are two unlike characters, but yet they are linked together.

Moo Moo symbolizes the revolutionary who is trying to free the people, his whole program is pointed toward people like Sweetback, community people who are very unaware, yet they are trying to survive. Sweetback then symbolizes the most unconscious persons in the community, people who are sometimes viewed as more worthless than the pimp. Sweetback is not a pimp and would not do as much as a pimp would; he is much less aggressive. A pimp will work at putting girls on the block, watching them,

collecting money, beating them and controlling them. He may also steal and deal in dope and so forth. Sweetback won't do any of this and yet the women love him, because he's got such a sweet sweet back. He will just stay home and the women will bring him everything he needs. He accepts their goods, but he doesn't care what they do. So the sweetback is actually more worthless than the pimp on one level, because he won't take the chances that a pimp would to survive. He has submitted more, almost to the point where he is a vegetable and is just taken care of. So the fact that Sweetback would not stand any more victimization, that he identified with Moo Moo as being one of the victims, and the fact that Moo Moo's revolutionary program is pointed to the lowest level of consciousness in the community means that even though they are unlike characters, even though Moo Moo is young and Sweetback is older, it is not unlikely that they would be bound together because they are, in fact.

When the gamblers get Sweetback and Moo Moo to the edge of town, they tell Sweetback to buy himself a last supper because he is a dead man. Their level of consciousness is so low that they will help him to a point, but they still believe that ultimately the oppressor will triumph and Sweetback will die.

Sweetback and Moo Moo are determined to survive, however, and they begin their journey. The encounter

with the motorcycle gang shows a number of things. First of all it is a triumph of the soul force (which the women gave Sweetback in the first scene) over all the mechanical developments of the oppressor. When he is challenged to a wrestling duel, the gang leader picks up a motorcycle to show brute strength. Then with the knife the gang leader shows how effectively they have mastered this weapon. When the gang leader reveals herself to be a woman, Sweetback knows that she is no match for the weapon he chooses. The gang promises to do them in after she does him in, but in the end "the Pres" is laid out on the ground in complete submission. The Black women showed him the way to liberation and he used his knowledge effectively.

Van Peebles is also signifying other things in the motorcycle gang scene. First of all there is the symbol of the strength of the white woman over the white man--and they don't even know it. Then there is the symbol of the Aryan--the superior race. The president of the gang is big and robust, the image of white superiority. The only criticism I have here is that her hair should have been blonde rather than reddish, but the idea gets across. The idea also comes across that the



people have the ability to triumph over all these symbols of oppression. Unity will save us.

I should point out that in his duel with the Aryan someone has stuck a derby hat and a silly little on Sweetback. It is like a performance, a minstrel show or a cakewalk thing. But Sweetback takes off the derby hat and in that way he tells the others that this is no performance, this is dealing for survival. He deals and he survives, much to their disappointment, and they roar off on their motorcycles, leaving their conquered leader on the floor.

Some of the gang betray Moo Moo and Sweetback telling them that since Sweetback has won the duel, they will take care of him and Moo Moo by giving them shelter in a mountain cabin; they instead send the police. This cabin contains a pool hall and when the police arrive, Moo Moo and Sweetback are playing pool. When the police enter, Sweetback offers his hands for the cuffs but then moves, using them to down one policeman. But he is without a weapon to deal with the other one and Moo Moo has been shot. Sweetback uses familiar survival techniques, however, because he deals with what he has available to him. The pool cue becomes a spear and he staves the policeman through the chest, and then drills him all the way to the hilt of the cue. It is not technology that saves him; it is his ability to use the familiar features of the Black community. There is another important message.

The rest of the scenes show the unity of the community.

creativity in dealing with survival situations. Sweetback sends Moo Moo on a motorcycle because he is the future. Then he makes it on his feet, by himself. He makes his plea to his feet to do their thing and they never fail him. All he has is his feet and one knife, and he gets by.

In the meantime the police are in the conference room and the commissioner tells them he wants the cop killers and niggers. Then he calls the Black policemen aside to apologize. They never say a word during the movie, but in their faces you see that they are dead. They are dead, because they are separated from the community of victims of which they are a part.

The police vamp on the entire community. They raid a motel and rip out the eyes of a brother. When they realize that he is not Sweetback their reply is "So What?" Melvin Van Peebles is making it plain that we are all Sweetbacks and we are all united in this victimization. At one point they bring

Beattie to the morgue to identify a body as Sweetback; they run their games again with some speech about democracy and communism. They use their idea of bourgeois democracy against the community; but Beattie is a deaf man, and has been deaf for a long time. In some respects he is also a blind man, because even though he operates a cat house and survives, he cannot read. They are the cause of his problems, he cannot hear, he cannot see, yet they want him to be



"responsible citizen" and help them. We see that Beattie has been subjected to the Biblical dictum: "Wherefore if thy hand or thy foot offend thee, cut them off and cast them from thee: it is better for thee to enter into life halt or maimed, rather than having two hands or two feet to be cast into everlasting fire. And if thine eye offend thee, pluck it out, and cast it from thee: it is better for thee to enter into life with one eye, rather than having two eyes to be cast into hell fire." (Matthew 18: 8-9)

Van Peebles is continuing to signify and send out messages to the Black community. When Beattie sees that the corpse in the morgue is not Sweetback, he breaks up with joy. He gains his hearing in a sense, and also his sight. For, "whoever will save his life shall lose it: and whoever will lose his life for my sake shall find it" (Matthew 16:25) We see the message very clearly because the camera immediately switches to a shoe shine stand where the brother is shining the man's shoes with his ass, and he is really telling the man, for Beattie, what he can do.

So the police go through the community searching for Sweetback, and the people stand as one. They don't know anything. The message here to the community is to "stop snitching", there is need for unity, not for revealing our secrets. When I was in the penitentiary I learned the worse crime one inmate can accuse another of is snitching. Van Peebles shows how

the community can avoid this and save themselves from their oppressors.

In the meantime we see Sweetback making it through the edges of the city and heading for the desert. He has none of the high-powered technology of the oppressor, but he does have his feet. In one scene we see him going by a large factory, it looks like a chemical plant or something like that. Here you see the drama being symbolized to its fullest, Sweetback with his feet, making it on by the man's highest manifestation of technological skill, and you realize that this is the drama develop-

ing, the soul-force of the people against the technology of the oppressor. The only question is which will win? The answer is given by Sweetback in his plea to his feet, he says:

Come on feet  
cruise for me  
come on legs  
come on run  
come on feet  
do your thing  
who put the bad mouth on me  
anyway the way I pick em up  
and put em down  
even if it got  
my name on it  
won't catch me now.

There is Sweetback's answer to the oppressor's technology, even if the bullet has his name on it, it won't catch him now. Why? Because Sweetback has feet, and they will save him.



This is also the beginning of the dialogue between the running Sweetback and the colored angels. As soon as he hits the desert where the situation is really going to be bad, the colored angels come in and try to discourage him, but he has feet, he has heart, and he has courage, and in the dialogue he resists their discouragement as much as he resists the technology of the police who are always searching.

Now I would like to discuss the movie from a different angle, instead of a scene-by-scene analysis. I want to talk about some of the important ideas signified in various scenes. Some of these ideas have been mentioned already, but I think that it is important to re-state them because Melvin Van Peebles uses them so effectively and he is trying to advance our awareness and understanding, so we repeat for added emphasis.

The first key idea or concept which I think the movie presents to us is the need for unity among all the members and institutions within the community of victims. We see the idea of unity between the young and the old beautifully expressed in the love and care which the women give to the young boy, and also in the concern Sweetback expresses for Moo Moo after he realizes that he is truly unified with Moo Moo. You will recall that Sweetback has an actual dialogue at only six points in the movie, three of these points are in relationship to Moo Moo. So the revolutionary and the righteous street brother see their functional unity. When Sweetback first

cops and saves Moo Moo, Moo Moo then ~~asks~~ Sweetback where are we going? What does Sweetback say? "Where did you get that 'we' shit?" This indicates that Sweetback does not understand his need for unity with Moo Moo. Yet after his encounter with Beale, Sweetback realizes that he cannot depend on his boss, the guy he should have been able to depend on, but Moo Moo was somewhere out there being hunted and so was Sweetback--and they were united.

Then when the gamblers are giving Sweetback a ride to the edge of town he spots Moo Moo and he tells his comrades to stop. This is the second time he speaks about the revolutionary. Now when Moo Moo gets in the car he tells the brothers who he is, but they still don't see their need for unity, because to them he is not Moo Moo, he is the guy who got their partner into trouble. They blame the victim rather than those who victimize him, but this is because of their low level of awareness. Sweetback did that earlier, but he was revolutionized by his awareness of the true situation. Our unity will come out of consciousness, and this is the point of the movie, to raise the consciousness of the Black community.

The movie also demonstrates the functional unity between the present and the future. Once again we see this in the women giving nourishment and love to the boy who is their future--their liberator. If they did not feed him and give him the strength to sur-



able to liberate them. So pending the revolution they must do all they can to help him survive.

We also see the unity between the present and the future when Sweetback visits the church. He gets no help but he gets a little more understanding of the true nature of his contribution to the community. The minister tells him that what he did for Moo Moo was the correct thing. He says: "You saved the plant that they were planning to nip in the bud. That's why the Man's down on you." Then later when Sweetback has another chance to escape, but without Moo Moo, he tells the Black motorcyclist to take the young brother instead. The motorcyclist asks Sweetback if he knows what he is doing and he replies: "He's our future, Erer. Take him."

The movie also demonstrates the value of unity among the entire Black community. This is shown at the very beginning when the movie titles appear indicating that the movie is starring THE BLACK COMMUNITY. There is no hero, there is no one outstanding individual, there is the community. At the end there are some names of participants, but it does not even tell what roles they played. This is all an attempt to play down the individualistic approach to our survival in favor of an expression of unity among the entire community.

This unity is also demonstrated by the fact that Sweetback has almost no dialogue in the entire movie. He says hardly anything at all. Why? Because the movie is not starring Sweetback,

it is starring the Black community. Most of the audiences at the movie are Black and they talk to the screen. They supply the dialogues, because all of us are Sweetback, we are all in the same predicament of being victims.

This is clearly seen when Sweetback comes back to Beatle for help. Sweetback says nothing, but Beatle lets it come out of both ends. The audience replies to Beatle for Sweetback, and they supply the dialogue. This happens throughout the film. So the thing to do is not just see the film, but also to recognize how you the viewer are also an actor in the film, because you are as much a victim of this oppressive system as Sweetback.

The unity of the community is shown throughout the film and we should get the message the brother is signifying to us. When the community sets the police car afire and saves Sweetback, that is an expression of unity. When they deny ever having seen him in order to permit him to escape, that is an expression of unity. When they raid the motel and rip the brother's eye out, they say "So what?" when told this is not Sweetback. But it is Sweetback in a sense, because the brother is another victim, like all of us are. When Beatle is rolled up to the morgue and realizes that the body they show him is not Sweetback, he sees his unity as a victim with his



brother he failed to help who is also a victim. And Beatie cracks up laughing--they are unified. And in the next scene at the shoeshine stand Van Peebles signifies to the man that he can kiss his ass.

Another expression of unity in the film is the power symbol. When the minister tells Sweetback the significance of the job he has done for Moo Moo, he then says a Black Ave Maria for him, but ends up giving him the power sign--unity. Then when Moo Moo gets on the motorcycle to escape and then leave Sweetback, this is different from their first parting. They give each other a soul shake, so that even though they go separate ways they are unified.

Finally the film demonstrates the importance of unity and love between Black men and women. This is shown again in the scene where the woman makes love to the young boy but in fact baptizes him into his true manhood. Then again when the woman makes love to Sweetback and then gets the handcuffs off him, we see that these are not sex scenes, they are love scenes in a very holy and righteous context. The second woman wants Sweetback to beg, but he can beg no longer because he has been transformed. His baptism in the blood transformed him--he has ripped off his oppressors and he is truly a man; he can never beg again, and he does not.

For a long time the Black community has been a collection of people who survive together in one place, but unity is essential for liberation as well

as survival. When we have this unity, the faith of one becomes the faith of another as in the case of Sweetback and Moo Moo. When we have our consciousness increased to the point that we understand this, we will have our unity. But we must understand that the victimizers will always try to prevent this unity.

Another idea the film gets across is the different point of view between the victim and the victimizer. The victimizers cannot accept the reality and truth of the view of the victims, and therefore they say that the victims are always wrong in their view of reality. Indeed, they even go so far as to signify that the victims cannot control and direct their own lives. This is seen first of all in the fact that the film is labeled with an "X" rating. This is an

act of the victimizers, trying to control what we shall see, and more than that, trying to say that the ways in which we are forced to survive are profane and dirty. They say that we are like freaks in a show; but we understand that in fact the freaks are those who force us to live in wretched conditions, they may be profane conditions to the oppressors, but we know how to make our conditions a survival situation and we do not see ourselves as profane. The oppressors see Sweetback as a sex film, but if we truly understand ourselves and unify with Sweetback, we will see that the film advocates a bloody overthrow of the oppressor. Melvin Van Peebles is righteously signifying.

The view of the victims is seen in many ways. One of them is in the understanding of Moo Moo and Sweetback. They both know that they are victims, although Moo Moo has not really gotten his complete program together for the community. Yet they seek the same goals of freedom and liberation, and they recognize that sometimes you have to use stern stuff to accomplish your goals. They also recognize that even though the community may not support you entirely, they will support you to a point and that you must go as far as the community will go, and then move out on your own, leading the people to a higher level of consciousness. Sweetback relies on the community much more than Moo Moo, because he understands that revolution is a process, going from A to B to C and so forth, rather than trying to get the people to jump from A to Z.

The oppressor does not understand this, he does not understand the strength of the will of the people. When the two policemen catch Sweetback after he leaves Beattie's place, they are friendly because they cannot accept the idea that the community will free itself. So they ask Sweetback how many people were in the ambush? How did they work it? The oppressors cannot accept the idea that the oppressed could do this without a lot of planning, without a large number of people. It was Sweetback and Moo Moo, ~~but to~~ the victimizer it had to be more than

that. A difference in point of view, a point of view which is too often used to control us, but we must make our own point of view prevail.

Another difference in point of view is seen with the chains which are used on Sweetback twice in the film. To the oppressor they are the chains which keep us in a submissive position, but each time for Sweetback, the oppressed, they become tools of liberation. We will be even stronger when we learn how to turn the oppressor's tools against him, rather than submitting to them.

Another idea which Melvin Van Peebles puts across is the uselessness of cultist behavior in our struggle for survival and liberation. In earlier issues of the paper I have talked about the revolutionary cultist, the cultural cultist, and the religious cultist. Van Peebles strikes some heavy blows at the religious and cultural cultists. For example, the minister understands that he is not moving the people toward their true liberation. He tells Sweetback that what he is doing is giving the people a hyp, which gives them a little happiness, but he then goes on to say that Moo Moo and the younger guys are laying down the real religion. So this is a blow against those religions in the Black community which do not help people deal with the conditions which drive them to their knees, but instead want to keep the people on their knees.



The strongest blow against cultist behavior, however, is saved for the cultural cultists. We see this in the African garb which the minister is wearing. This is signifying that a lot of cultural nationalism and the meaningless religions in the community are deceiving the people in the same ways.

In another way the film makes this point more strongly and also indicates the true way to liberation. When Sweetback arrives at the gambler's den, the men around the table are engaged in a conversation. The manager has complained to Sweetback that he cannot even make any money on this operation because he is paying off so many others. Cultural cultists offer many empty solutions to our oppression, and this scene hits at these solutions.

After the manager's speech one gambler says: "And Africa shall stretch forth her arms," and then another replies "Yeah, and bring back a bloody stump." Now we have to understand the true issue in order to see this as a blow at cultural nationalists, who are cultural cultists--with African clothes, bones, and other things, but no way to liberate the people. Cultural cultists, who try to claim that they have the way, often use this scripture to support their ideas: "Princes shall come out of Egypt; Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God." (Psalms 68:31) You can see that what Van Peebles is signifying is that those who use

such meaningless arguments to mislead the people have nothing to offer because when they stretch forth their arms, they will draw back a bloody stump. Still, however, Van Peebles does show us how a bloody stump may not be a meaningless thing, if we get out of that cultist bag. How does he do this? He shows the blood on Sweetback's arms each time he downs the cops. In his first baptism by blood, there is blood all the way up to his elbow. And later when he downs the cops in the poolroom, there is blood up to his elbow again. That is the true route to liberation, stern action when the situation demands that you seize the time, and turn away from cultist behavior.

There is another key idea which comes through repeatedly, and that is the ability of the people to survive even under the harshest conditions. We do this by using the means available to us and never worrying about the fact that we don't have all the technology that the oppressor has. You will recall that Sweetback was in chains and in the back of the police car when the people "washed" it with gasoline. What did the Brother do? He made it out of the car and then walked right through the police and firemen who were arriving to try and deal with the situation. He walked right through them--he did not panic and run, he just calmly turned a situation of oppression to his advantage.

Later on when Sweetback and Moo Moo had separated for the final

time, the Brother was faced with a very difficult situation, and he had very little to carry him through. But when the colored angels began to get down on him, he told them "I got feet." This was again symbolizing survival. It was not simply that he had feet, however, he also had the ability to use the technology of the oppressor in his own interest. He did not become discouraged because he had no car. Van Peebles could have had him steal a car, but instead he had Sweetback use the basic skills of survival, with nothing but the things he had learned for surviving the oppressor for so many years on the block. He doesn't have a car, but he rides--on the top of a truck, inside the back of another truck, on a freight train, he uses the oppressor's technology, but in his own interest.

He also survives by using the system against itself. He meets another traveler and pays him to change clothes and run when he is chased. This throws the police off his trail and helps him survive, but it also means that he ends up with clothes which are much more suitable for his long run across the desert. Later in the film, when he is near the border and the dogs are after him, the two men--the owner of the dogs and the police--get into a fight among themselves about whether the dogs will be untied. This is all to Sweetback's advantage, turning the oppressors against each other, and he makes his escape.

In another way he survives the way

that the Black community has always survived, by using the resources at his command even though they are not the resources others would use. Survival forces some very harsh decisions on us. When his wound is causing him to suffer, he urinates upon the earth and uses his own urine to make a mudpack which he applies to the wound--it produces a rapid healing. These are the kinds of home remedies we have long had to use because we could not get proper medical attention. Later, we see him bathing his face in a pool of muddy water. It sustains him. When I saw it I thought of that song which says "I'd rather drink muddy water, and sleep in a hollowed out log, than stay here and be treated like a dirty dog."

These are survival techniques all the audience can identify with because they realize they are necessary. They don't identify with the time he catches that lizard and downs it, raw. But this is no different from the times when we had to eat the chitterlings, hog maws, and other foods, not because we wanted to, but because that was all we had to eat. We may deny it, we may not identify with it, but it carried us through. And the point we should understand is that if you do not submit to the oppressor, you may be forced to make some harsh decisions, eat some undesirable foods, but this is better than being well-fed in some social prison.



Sweetback has only one tool with him, his knife, and he uses it very effectively. It reminds me of that point in The Wretched of the Earth where Fanon says that if you don't have a gun, then a knife will do. He uses his knife to escape at the rock concert, by pretending to be making love to the girl in the bushes. He uses the knife against the lizard. And then when he hears the dogs coming after him, he again pulls it out and he uses it-- he really deals. But we should know it would be this way, because earlier in the pool room when he was facing the policeman with a gun what did Sweetback have? A tool the community knows how to use very effectively, a pool cue. But he did not use it to down pool balls, he turned it into a spear and downed the oppressor. You don't need a gun, what you need is the consciousness of what it will take to survive and prevail in any given situation-- and then act accordingly.

So what I have done is given you a scene-by-scene analysis of the movie, then an analysis of some of the major ideas and concepts which the movie puts forth. Now I will show how the movie also raises the consciousness of the community by analyzing it in terms of some aspects of the ideology of the Black Panther Party. We see ideology as a systematic way of thinking about phenomena, not as some set of abstract conclusions. Our approach is one that uses dialectical materialism, which holds that contradictions are the ruling principle of the universe. Everywhere,

in all of life, the social forces, the natural forces, and the biological and physical forces, we can find contradictions. What we mean is that in every phenomenon there is a contradiction between opposing forces which struggle to gain domination over each other. We call this the thesis and antithesis, or the unity of the opposites. Because these opposites are both unified and constantly in struggle with one another, they give motion to the matter composing the phenomenon. So we say that matter is constantly in motion, or constantly in a state of transformation. The transformation takes place in a dialectical manner, with the thesis struggling against the antithesis; these are the contradictions. The struggle is resolved in a synthesis, which contains elements of the old contradictions, but is at a higher level, and then a new set of contradictions arises.

The essence of the ideology of the Black Panther Party is that we recognize that matter is constantly in transformation in a dialectical manner. But when we understand this and understand the forces in operation, we can control them and direct them in a manner which is beneficial for the community. Therefore what we want to do is understand the contradictions within every aspect of the Black community and move on them by trying to increase the positive side of each contradiction until it comes to dominate the negative side. This is how we define power--the ability to define phenomena and make them act in a

desired manner.

If you understand where the Panther is coming from, you will understand that Sweet Sweetback is a beautiful exemplification of Black Power, for what he does is decide how he wants things to come out and then he makes them act in a desired manner. The movie is also an exemplification of the dialectical analysis and the constant transformation of phenomena. I don't know whether Melvin Van Peebles was aware of this when he made the movie, but it does have these features, and probably so because the Panther ideology is an extremely effective approach to all phenomena. It gives us lots of insight and understanding.

For example, we say that all phenomena contain contradictions with positive and negative qualities. To control the situation, then, what you must do is increase the positive qualities of any phenomenon until they dominate the negative qualities. Sweetback does this on a number of occasions. Take for example the chains. The handcuffs are definitely negative when they are used to keep him in submission; but when Sweetback realizes that he can ignore the beating of Moo Moo no longer, what is he to use for a weapon? Then the same chains which were used to bind become tools of liberation--their positive qualities are used to overcome their negative qualities. He did this again when he was caught by the police in the pool room--he offered his hands for the chains. Not because he wanted them, but because he realized that this would put the police

off their guard, and also give him another weapon to use against them. We see this again, when the police are using helicopters, cars and guns, and the radio to track down Sweetback. What does he use? Their technology; but in a positive way--he hitches rides on trucks and trains, and they help to deliver him from the jaws of the monsters who are using the most advanced technology to try and capture him. If we understand dialectical materialism, we will understand more about how to look at both the positive and negative qualities of phenomena so that we can control our destiny.

The film also shows the positive and negative features of community institutions. In other articles I have said that the Black Panther Party was wrong in its blanket condemnations of community institutions, instead of analyzing their qualities. The movie shows the positive and negative features of the church, for example. The minister is saying to Sweetback that he has nothing to offer the community, he can only give the people a hype which will bring them a little bit of happiness in their misery, and he cannot offer Sweetback a hide-out because the police--("the Man") knows everything. This shows his negative and reactionary side. At the same time we see his positive and progressive side, because he is operating a withdrawal center where people addicted to drugs can come and dry out. There is no blanket condemnation, he shows the church making a real contribution to the survival of the community. What



needs to happen is for people with a higher level of consciousness to increase the positive contribution the church makes until the positive becomes the most important feature of the church, then it will be able to do more for the people.

The same is true in the case of the gambler. He cannot offer Sweetback any money, he is exploiting and he is also exploited, and when the Brother really needs help he has no money to give him. What's more, the advice he gives is worthless because he says that Sweetback is dead and tells him to get himself a last supper. But there is also a positive quality to the gambler, because he will give Sweetback and Moo Moo a ride for part of the way. Actually he can give them a ride all the way to the border, but he will only give them a ride to the edge of town where they run into the motorcycle gang. But the point is made very well, that you have to work with the people as far as they will go, and not jump too far ahead by forcing them to do things they do not want to do at that particular level of consciousness. So he carries the positive qualities of the gambler as far as they will go, and then strikes out again. This is taking your revolution from point A to point B, rather than trying to jump from A to Z in one step. We have to find out what the people will do and get them to do that much.

The progression of the people as their consciousness increases is shown

in the case of Beatle. At first Beatle is an individual surviving at a basic level, running a cat house and then giving up one of his men in order to continue to operate. Then Beatle offers advice which is nothing more than a pile of dung. Next we see Beatle going through the revolutionizing process, because if he knew where Sweetback was, he would have told on him. But because he was deaf before and because he cannot cooperate with the police, they actually deafen him--the conditions revolutionize him. When we next see Beatle it is in the morgue scene and he cracks up as he realizes that Sweetback has escaped - they are unified. Beatle has seen that he also is a victim and there can be no cooperation with the oppressor because they will bleed you to death; if you want to live you have to resist. And the shoe shine man uses his ass on the shoes of his oppressor.

There is also a progression within the community. They rescue Sweetback, and aid him as much as they can in his escape, then they become deaf to their oppressors. That is a way of hearing the plea of Sweetback to his feet and giving him enough lead time to let his feet do their job.

The community's progression is also shown in the transformation of the colored angels. We hear the voices of the community as the police search for Sweetback, but when he reaches the desert we hear the voices of the angels in a dialogue with Sweetback. On the record Melvin Van Peebles

refers to this as an opera (an opera is merely a story told in song), and the dialogue between Sweetback and the angels is really Sweet Sweetback's BaadAssssss Song. In the book Van Peebles refers to the angels first as colored angels, then he refers to them as Black angels. On the record he refers to them as Reggin (spell it

backwards) angels. The point is that the angels are against the interests of Sweetback, but they are transformed, because their interests are in fact the same as his. This is the dialogue with the angels, the baadassssss song:

If you cant beat em join em  
Thats what they say

You talkin bout yesterday

You cant go on like that Sweetback  
Not long as your face is Black

Yeah I'm Black and I'm keepin on  
Keepin on the same ole way

They bopped your mama  
They bopped your papa

Wont bop me

They bopped your sister  
They bopped your brother

They wont bop me

**THEY BURNED OUR MAMAS**

**THEY BEAT OUR PAPAS**

**THEY TRICKED OUR SISTERS**

**THEY CHAINED OUR BROTHERS**

**WONT BLEED ME**

**WONT BLEED ME**

**WONT BLEED ME**

They bled your mama

They bled your papa

But he wont bleed me

Use your Black ass from sun to sun  
Niggers scared and pretend they don't see  
Deep down dirty dog scared

Just like you Sweetback

Just like I used to be  
Work your Black behind to the gums  
And you supposed to thomas tell he done  
You got to thomas Sweetback

They bled your brother  
They bled your sister  
Yeah but they wont bleed me

Progress Sweetback

Thats what he wants you to believe  
No progress Sweetback

He aint stopped clubbing us for 400 years  
And he dont intend to for a million

He sure treat us bad Sweetback  
We can make him do us better

Chicken aint nothing but a bird  
White man aint nothing but a turd  
Nigger aint shit

Get my hands on a trigger

You talkin revolution Sweetback

I wanta get off these knees

You talkin revolution Sweetback

You cant make it on wings  
Wheels or steel Sweetback  
We got feet

You cant get away on wings  
wheels or steel Sweetback  
Niggers got feet

He bled your brother

He bled your sister

Your brother and your sister too

How come it took me so long to see

How he get us to use each other

Niggers scared

We got to get it together if he kicks a brother

It gotta be like he kickin your mother

They hype you into sopping the

Marrow out your own bones

Justice is blind

Yeah and white too

Justice is blind

The way she acts she gotta be

The man is jive

Not too jive to have his game

Uptight in your kinky bean

Stand tall Sweetback he

Aint gonna let you

I'm standing tall anyway

The man know everything Sweetback

The man know everything

Then he ought to know Im

Tired of him fuckin with me

Use your feet baby

Riri motherfucka

Riri Sweetback

He wont bleed me



We can see the transformation of the angels if we see the opera in relationship to the scenes in the movie. When he arrives at the desert, the most difficult and lonesome part of his whole trip, the colored angels chastise and ridicule him. They believe, like the gambler, that he is a dead man and it will only be a matter of time until he is caught. So they signify, about how the Man bopped his brother and sister, how he bled his momma and poppa, and how he will get Sweetback. But Sweetback is determined because he knows they won't bop him, they won't bleed him. Why? "I got feet". All he is signifying is that I can deal, and I can survive.

When he uses his urine mixed with mud to make the pack which heals his wounds, the angels begin to change. They see too that he will survive, so they start to become Black. They recognize that they too are like Sweetback, and they point out that they have been treated bad too, but they have been acting like Uncle Toms. Sweetback is going to get his finger on a trigger, get off his knees, and fight a revolution. So when he makes the mudpack, the Black angels begin to tell him to run, they want him to deal, now, they don't want him to Tom. They too have been transformed, because Sweetback has increased their positive qualities by showing them it is not necessary to submit all the time. At some point you have got to get off your knees.

Their transformation continues because when the police looses the hound dogs (slave dogs) after Sweetback and he draws his knife, the Black angels begin to sing "This little light of mine, I'm going to let it shine." This is the first time we have heard this song since Sweetback's baptism into his manhood. The growth he experienced the first time this song was sung, the way he learned from those women in the house of prostitution, is going to serve him again. They gave him love and strength because he was their future, their liberator, and now their training is going to serve him, now that he is older. The angels are transformed, and Sweetback survives. This brings us to the end of the movie, and the negation of the negation. At the beginning the community of oppressed was in contradiction with the oppressors. The oppressed were trying to survive, but the oppressors would not permit that, they wanted more. They wanted to bleed them to death and completely dominate them. They wanted to dominate by dividing the community, Sweetback against Moo Moo, Beatie against Sweetback. But this continued oppression led the people to realize that their salvation would only come through unity, and unity would only come through heightened levels of consciousness. So they unify and Sweetback revolts against the oppressors and makes good his escape. Many do not believe he will make it, their consciousness is not as high as his. He is reaching for the stars--

making it to the border--but they will only take him to the edge of town.

Sweetback has his high level of consciousness, that is to say, he is a Sweet Sweetback because he has come to understand that freedom, liberation, and the ability to love requires that first of all you have to recapture the holy grail, you have to restore your dignity and manhood by destroying the one who took it from you. When you do that, even if you do not completely escape, you are a dangerous man, because after that the oppressor knows that you will no longer be submissive. Therefore ripping off your oppressor is the first step toward freedom and love.

This understanding did not come easily to Sweetback. He attempted to look away from Moo Moo, and then after rescuing him, he attempted to make it on his own, only to be misled by Beatle. This put him in the situation of a revolutionary, in the sense that he knew then that he could not find a place of refuge within the system without a whole transformation of the conditions of oppression.

I say this because many people think that revolutionaries are made out of some kinds of abstract predicaments. This is not so, they are transformed by a particular set of situations that are sometimes unique to each individual. What brings one person into his revolutionary consciousness is different from what will bring another,

but when we reach that point, we realize that we are all unified as victims. That is what happened to Sweetback,

Moo Moo, Beatle, the angels and the community in the film. That is why the film stars the Black community--all of us. We must understand our unity and also how we must heighten our consciousness.

So like I said, we have the negation of the negation. The oppressor who wanted to exploit Sweetback and Beatle, ends up beaten by them because they will take his stuff no longer--the negation of the negation. The contradiction between the community, as represented by Sweetback, and the oppressor, as represented by the dogs, has been resolved.

However each synthesis leads to new contradictions. Right until the end Melvin Van Peebles is signifying and conveying a message to us. What is the new contradiction? Sweetback has killed two dogs, but one is still there, refreshing himself in the water mingled with the blood of the other dogs. If Sweetback got two dogs, who is going to get the other? That is the dog we must down. So the movie ends with the words "Watch Out". This has a dual meaning. It is telling all the many Sweetbacks across the land to watch out for that third dog and be prepared to deal when he shows up. It also says to the oppressor to watch out for the Sweetbacks across the land, because they are coming to collect some dues. Righteously signifying.



When Bobby and I started the Black Panther Party, we wanted to build the Black community, the love, the sacredness, and the unity we need so desperately. This is still our goal and we try to help the community survive by administering our many survival programs. Sweet Sweetback helps to put forth the ideas of what we must do to build that community. We need to see it often and learn from it.

**ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE**



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

San Francisco, California

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

July 6, 1971

Title            HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Character

Reference        San Francisco airtel dated  
                  and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

JUL 1 1957

TELETYPE

NR 006 SF PLAINTEXT

9:22PM NITEL 7/13/71 JAK

TO DIRECTOR (105-165429)

FROM SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203) 2P

HUEY P. NEWTON, AKA., RM - BPP (KBE).

DONALD P. WHYTE, ALAMEDA COUNTY ASSISTANT DISTRICT ATTORNEY, OAKLAND, CALIF., ADVISED THAT ON AFTERNOON OF JULY TWELVE LAST, OFFICER HERBERT HEANES, OAKLAND POLICE DEPARTMENT, TESTIFIED AT LENGTH REGARDING THE ALTERCATION BETWEEN OFFICER JOHN FREY AND NEWTON AND HIMSELF ON EARLY MORNING OCTOBER TWENTYEIGHT, NINETEEN SIXTYSEVEN. HEANES TESTIFIED THAT AT NO TIME DID HE SEE A GUN IN EITHER THE HAND OF NEWTON OR OFFICER FREY.

ON JULY THIRTEEN INSTANT, HEANES WAS CROSS-EXAMINED BY  
NEWTON'S ATTORNEY, CHARLES R. GARRY, DURING WHICH GARRY ASKED  
HEANES IF HE HAD KILLED OFFICER FREY. HEANES REPLIED HE  
DID NOT AND EXPLAINED HE HAD AIMED HIS SERVICE REVOLVER AT  
END PAGE ONE

REC-24  
11-5429-4

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Brennan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Dalbey \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ponder \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Soyars \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

b6  
b7c

END PAGE ONE

**REC-24**

EX-109

8 JUL 15 1971

20 1971  
1971

PAGE TWO

SF 157-1203

NEWTON'S STOMACH AND REMEMBERS FIRING ONLY ONCE WITH HIS LEFT HAND. HEANES POINTED OUT HE HAD JUST RECEIVED A BULLET WOUND IN HIS RIGHT ARM. HE FURTHER TESTIFIED THAT AFTER NEWTON WAS ARRESTED AND WAS WALKING WITH FREY TOWARDS HEANES PATROL CAR, NEWTON WHIRLED AROUND TO HIS LEFT, FACING HIM (HEANES) AND STARTED SHOOTING. HEANES SAID HE DREW HIS <sup>F</sup>POSTOL AND WAS IMMEDIATELY SHOT IN THE ARM.

ON JULY TWELVE LAST, STATE DISTRICT COURT OF APPEALS TURNED DOWN THE ACTION FOR DISMISSAL FILED BY GARRY EARLIER ON THAT DATE, ON THE BASIS IT HAD NO MERIT.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

RESFTEL JULY TWELVE LAST.

BUREAU WILL BE KEPT ADVISED.

END...

HOLD



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JUL 12 1971

**TELETYPE**

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 6-7-83 BY SP-5

|              |       |
|--------------|-------|
| Mr. Tolson   | _____ |
| Mr. Felt     | _____ |
| Mr. Sullivan | _____ |
| Mr. Mohr     | _____ |
| Mr. Bishop   | _____ |
| Mr. Brennan  | _____ |
| Mr. Callahan | _____ |
| Mr. Casper   | _____ |
| Mr. Conrad   | _____ |
| Mr. Dalbey   | _____ |
| Mr. Gale     | _____ |
| Mr. Ponder   | _____ |
| Mr. Rosen    | _____ |
| Mr. Tavel    | _____ |
| Mr. Walters  | _____ |
| Mr. Soyars   | _____ |
| Tele. Room   | _____ |
| Miss Holmes  | _____ |
| Miss Gandy   | _____ |

NR 006 SF PLAINTEXT

7:28PM NITEL 7/12/71 JAK

TO DIRECTOR (105-165429)

FROM SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203) 2P

HUEY P. NEWTON, AKA., RM - BPP (KBE).

ALAMEDA COUNTY ASSISTANT DISTRICT ATTORNEY DONALD P. WHYTE, OAKLAND, CALIF., ADVISED NEWTON'S TRIAL RESUMED JULY TWELVE INSTANT, AND OAKLAND POLICE DEPARTMENT RADIO DISPATCHER CLARENCE LORD, WHO WAS ON DUTY EARLY MORNING OF OCTOBER TWENTYEIGHT SIXTYSEVEN, WHEN OFFICER JOHN FREY WAS KILLED, TESTIFIED. RECORDING OF RADIO COMMUNICATIONS BETWEEN LORD AND FREY WAS PLAYED. LORD WAS CROSS-EXAMINED BY NEWTON'S ATTORNEY CHARLES R. GARRY.

WHYTE STATED THAT ON JULY TWELVE INSTANT, GARRY FILED ACTION IN THE STATE DISTRICT COURT OF APPEALS SEEKING DISMISSAL OF ALL CHARGES AGAINST NEWTON ON GROUNDS NEWTON HAS BEEN PLACED IN DOUBLE JEOPARDY. GARRY CONTENDS THAT WHEN JUDGE HAROLD B.

END PAGE ONE

REC-24

19 1971

9 JUL 13 1971

EX-105  
Admin deleted  
Copies to WD, IDIU  
7/21/71  
JLA/jro

105-165429-464

PAGE TWO

SF 157-1203

HAVE SELECTED ALTERNATE JURORS AFTER ORIGINAL JURY AND  
ALTERNATES SELECTED NEWTON PLACED IN DOUBLE JEOPARDY. SELECTION  
OF ADDITIONAL ALTERNATE JURORS MADE AFTER REGULAR JUROR BECAME  
SICK AND HAD TO BE REPLACED.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

RESFTEL JULY TEN LAST.

BUREAU WILL BE KEPT ADVISED.

END...

HOLD

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JUL 9 1971

**TELETYPE**

NR 009 SF CODE

10:41PM NITEL 7/8/71 JAK

TO DIRECTOR (105-165429)

FROM SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203) 1P

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 6-26-87 BY SPJG WJ

|              |          |
|--------------|----------|
| Mr. Tolson   | _____    |
| Mr. Sullivan | _____    |
| Mr. Mohr     | _____    |
| Mr. Bishop   | _____    |
| Mr. Brennan  | CD _____ |
| Mr. Callahan | _____    |
| Mr. Casper   | _____    |
| Mr. Conrad   | _____    |
| Mr. Dalbey   | _____    |
| Mr. Felt     | _____    |
| Mr. Gale     | _____    |
| Mr. Rosen    | _____    |
| Mr. Tavel    | _____    |
| Mr. Walters  | _____    |
| Mr. Soyars   | _____    |
| Mr. Beaver   | _____    |
| Tele. Room   | _____    |
| Miss Holmes  | _____    |
| Miss Gandy   | _____    |

HUEY P. NEWTON, AKA., RM - BPP (KBE).

DONALD WHYTE, ALAMEDA COUNTY DISTRICT ATTORNEY'S OFFICE, OAKLAND, CALIF., ON JULY EIGHT INSTANT, ADVISED THAT DURING NIGHT OF JULY SEVEN LAST, ONE OF THE FEMALE MEMBERS OF JURY FOR NEWTON'S CASE WAS INVOLVED IN AN AUTOMOBILE ACCIDENT AND IS UNABLE TO CONTINUE ON JURY. ON JULY EIGHT INSTANT, ONE OF THE ALTERNATE JURORS WAS SEATED TO TAKE HER PLACE AND JUDGE RULED THAT THREE ADDITIONAL ALTERNATE JURORS BE SELECTED. SELECTION OF ALTERNATE JURORS BEGAN THIS DATE AND WILL CONTINUE ON JULY NINE NEXT. WHYTE STATED TRIAL WILL NOT GET UNDERWAY UNTIL POSSIBLY JULY TWELVE NEXT.

b6  
b7C

ADMINISTRATIVE:

RESFTEL JULY EIGHT INSTANT  
PT ADVISED.

BUREAU WILL BE KE ADSED

HOLD

1cc 806

REC-6

EX-105

22 JUL 15 1971

54 JUL 21 1971



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. C. D. Brennan

DATE: 7/12/71

b6  
b7C

FROM :

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 6-26-87 BY SP5A

SUBJECT: HUEY P. NEWTON  
RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
(KEY BLACK EXTREMIST)

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Dalbey \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Ponder \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
Soyars \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

The purpose of this memorandum is to advise regarding status of the trial of Huey P. Newton, Supreme Commander, Black Panther Party, which began in State Court, Alameda County, Oakland, California, 6/28/71. Newton is on trial for manslaughter growing out of the fatal shooting of a police officer in Oakland on 10/28/67.

During previous trial on this matter in 1968, Newton was convicted of voluntary manslaughter. Newton served 22 months of a 2- to 15-year sentence. He was freed on \$50,000 bail when the California State District Court of Appeals reversed the conviction on grounds there was a prejudicial error by the trial judge in omitting instructions to the jury on the defense of unconsciousness. Newton had been shot in the stomach, and the defense claimed Newton had been shot first and could have been unconscious when he shot the officer. A California law states that a person who is unconscious is not responsible for his actions.

Since the current trial began on 6/28/71, the entire time has been taken up with arguments by the defense and selection of the jury. Jury completed 7/9/71. Defense and prosecution gave opening statements 7/10/71. Trial scheduled to resume 7/12/71.

ACTION: For information.

- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
- 1 - [redacted]
- 1 - Mr. Helgeson
- 1 - [redacted]
- 1 - [redacted]

b6  
b7C

MAZ/MLH (7)

REC-53

NO JUL 15 1971



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
FOI/PA  
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET  
FOI/PA# 1214329-0

Total Deleted Page(s) = 5  
Page 203 ~ b6; b7C; b7D;  
Page 205 ~ b6; b7C; b7D;  
Page 206 ~ b6; b7C; b7D;  
Page 207 ~ b6; b7C; b7D;  
Page 208 ~ b6; b7C; b7D;

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X No Duplication Fee X  
X For this Page X  
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## Domestic Intelligence Division

## INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 7/15/71

The attached reports information on the trial of Huey P. Newton, supreme commander Black Panther Party, on manslaughter charges in state court, Alameda County, Oakland, California.

Attached indicates that Newton ordered jailed by Judge following outburst by Newton which disrupted court but later released on bond. Outburst caused by Newton's reaction to damaging testimony of surprise prosecution witness.

Dissemination being made to Inter-Division Information Unit and Internal Security Division of Department.

JLA:jd *Y**CDR*  
*gix**gc*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED *CA75-6203*  
DATE 6/26/87 BY SP5c:lpms

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JUL 15 1971

TELETYPE

NR 016 SF PLAINTEXT

8:52PM NITEL 7/14/71 CRH

TO: DIRECTOR (105-165429)

FROM: SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203)

|              |       |
|--------------|-------|
| Mr. Tolson   | _____ |
| Mr. Felt     | _____ |
| Mr. Sullivan | _____ |
| Mr. Mohr     | _____ |
| Mr. Bishop   | _____ |
| Mr. Brennan  | _____ |
| Mr. Callahan | _____ |
| Mr. Casper   | _____ |
| Mr. Conrad   | _____ |
| Mr. Dalbey   | _____ |
| Mr. Gale     | _____ |
| Mr. Ponder   | _____ |
| Mr. Rosen    | _____ |
| Mr. Tavel    | _____ |
| Mr. Walters  | _____ |
| Mr. Soyars   | _____ |
| Tele. Room   | _____ |
| Miss Holmes  | _____ |
| Miss Gandy   | _____ |

*RAJAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY*  
HUEY P. NEWTON, AKA, ~~RM~~ BPP (KBE). *(KEY BLACK EXTREMIST)*  
b6  
b7C

Q DEVELOPMENTS IN NEWTON'S TRIAL, ALAMEDA COUNTY SUPERIOR COURT, THIS DATE, ARE AS FOLLOWS:

PROSECUTION CALLED [ ] AS WITNESS, WHO TESTIFIED THAT FOLLOWING THE OCTOBER, NINETEEN SIXTY-SEVEN SHOOTOUT, NEWTON AND AN UNKNOWN MAN COMMANDEERED HIS CAR AND THAT NEWTON JUMPED INTO THE BACK SEAT HOLDING HIS ABDOMEN WHERE HE WAS APPARENTLY WOUNDED, AND ALSO HOLDING A GUN AND THAT NEWTON STATED "I JUST SHOT ME TWO DUDES". DEFENSE ATTORNEY CHARLES GARRY AT THIS POINT MADE A MOTION FOR A RECESS, STATING THAT HE HAD TAPES AT HIS OFFICE, WITH WHICH HE COULD PROVE THAT WITNESS [ ] HAD PERJURED HIMSELF. JUDGE HAROLD HOVE DENIED MOTION FOR A RECESS. THEREUPON NEWTON JUMPED TO HIS FEET, STATED THAT HE COULD NOT GET JUSTICE IN THIS COURT, SAID THAT THE TRIAL SHOULD STOP NOW AND THAT THEY MIGHT AS WELL JAIL HIM SINCE HE

EX-105 REC-43 105-165429-467

JUL 16 1971

END PAGE ONE

5 JUL 16 1971  
Adm. data deleted

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 6/26/87 BY SPSC/10MS

SF 157-1203

PAGE TWO

WOULD NOT SIT THERE AND LISTEN TO [REDACTED] AT THIS POINT NEWTON'S SYMPATHIZERS IN THE AUDIENCE CREATED A SMALL DISTURBANCE AND JUDGE HOVE ORDERED THE COURTROOM CLEARED, WHICH WAS DONE WITHOUT INCIDENT. JUDGE HOVE GRANTED A RECESS, AND ORDERED NEWTON JAILED DURING THE RECESS.

b6  
b7C

COURT CONVENED FOLLOWING THE RECESS, AT WHICH TIME CHARLES GARRY STATED HE HAD BEEN TO HIS OFFICE IN AN ATTEMPT TO FIND THE TAPES BUT THAT HIS OFFICE HAD BEEN BURGLARIZED AND THE TAPES TAKEN. AT CONCLUSION OF TODAY'S SESSION, NEWTON CONTINUED FREE ON BOND.

ADMINISTRATIVE: SOURCE IS [REDACTED]  
BUREAU WILL BE KEPT ADVISED OF DEVELOPMENTS.

b6  
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END

HOLD



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JUL 16 1971

TELETYPE

NR 012 SF PLAINTEXT

110:4PM NITEL 7/15/71 JAK

TO DIRECTOR (105-165429)

FROM SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203)

HUEY P. NEWTON, AKA., RM - BPP (KBE).

b6  
b7C

Mr. Tolson\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Felt\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Sullivan\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Bishop\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. BrennanCD\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Casper\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Dalbey\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gale\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ponder\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Walters\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Soyars\_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room\_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes\_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy\_\_\_\_\_

NEWTON'S TRIAL RESUMED MORNING JULY FIFTEEN INSTANT,  
WITH WITNESS [REDACTED] BEING CROSS-EXAMINED BY THE DEFENSE.

[REDACTED] TESTIFIED HE LIED UNDER OATH DURING TRIAL NINETEEN SIXTYEIGHT WHEN  
HE CLAIMED HE COULDN'T REMEMBER ANYTHING ABOUT HIS BEING  
KIDNAPPED AND ABOUT THE SHOOTOUT INVOLVING NEWTON. GARRY  
DEMANDED THAT [REDACTED] BE PLACED UNDER ARREST FOR COMMITTING  
PERJURY IN THE NINETEEN SIXTHEIGHT TRIAL, BUT JUDGE HAROLD B. HOVE  
DENIED THE MOTION SINCE [REDACTED] HAD BEEN GIVEN IMMUNITY.

OFFICER [REDACTED] OAKLAND POLICE DEPARTMENT, WHO PLACED  
NEWTON UNDER ARREST AFTER THE SHOOT OUT ON OCTOBER TWENTYEIGHT  
NINETEEN SIXYSEVEN, TESTIFIED DURING AFTERNOON AND DURING  
CROSS-EXAMINATION THE DEFENSE ASKED HIM IF HE HAD CALLED NEWTON  
END PAGE ONE

EX-100

REC-30

105-165429-468

JUL 20 1971

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED 6475.6203  
DATE 6/26/87 BY SP5C110MS

6 JUL 23 1971

7/21/71

PAGE TWO

SF 157-1203

A "NIGGER" WHILE NEWTON WAS LYING HANDCUFFED. [REDACTED] THE OFFICER CLAIMED HE HAD NOT AND THAT HE HAD MERELY ADVISED NEWTON OF HIS RIGHTS. AT THIS TIME SPECTATORS CAUSED AN OUTBURST AND JUDGE HOVE ORDERED THE COURTROOM CLEARED.

COURT RECESSED UNTIL MORNING JULY SIXTEEN NEXT.

UNDER COURT ORDERS ALL SPECTATORS AND MEMBERS OF SO-CALLED UNDERGROUND PRESS WERE THOROUGHLY SEARCHED BEFORE ENTERING COURTROOM FOR TODAY'S SESSION. THE DEFENSE PROTESTED BUT JUDGE HOVE DENIED HIS PROTEST AND STATED HE WAS GOING TO TAKE ALL THE STEPS NECESSARY TO MAINTAIN ORDER DURING THE TRIAL.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

RESFTEL JULY FOURTEEN LAST.

SOURCE IS [REDACTED]

b6  
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[REDACTED]  
BUREAU WILL KEPT ADVISED.

END...

HOLD

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JUL 16 1971

TELETYPE

NR 012 SF CODE

7:29PM NITEL 7/16/71 CRH

TO: DIRECTOR (105-165429)

FROM: SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203)

HUEY P. NEWTON, AKA., RM - BPP (KBE).

Mr. Tolson\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Felt\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Sullivan\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Bishop\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Brennan\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Casper\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Dalbey\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gale\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ponder\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Walters\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Soyars\_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room\_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes\_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy\_\_\_\_\_

TRIAL OF SUBJECT RESUMED JULY SIXTEEN INSTANT, AND  
THE NINETEEN SIXTYEIGHT GRAND JURY TESTIMONY OF [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] WAS READ INTO THE CURRENT TRIAL RECORD.

THIS SUBSTANTIATES THE TESTIMONY BY [REDACTED] ON JULY FOURTEEN LAST  
AND JULY FIFTEEN LAST.

[REDACTED] NURSE, KAISER HOSPITAL EMERGENCY  
ROOM, OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA, TESTIFIED CONCERNING NEWTON COMING  
TO THAT HOSPITAL EARLY MORNING OCTOBER TWENTYEIGHT NINETEEN  
SIXTYSEVEN, FOR TREATMENT. SHE STATED NEWTON SAID HE HAD BEEN  
SHOT IN THE STOMACH AND WAS BLEEDING TO DEATH AND DEMANDED  
THAT SHE GET A DOCTOR TO SEE HIM. SHE BECAME FRIGHTENED BECAUSE  
END PAGE ONE

*Admin deleted.*

*Copy to 150, 10111  
7/27/71  
JLA/jm*

REC-11

EX-114

10 JUL 21 1971

62 JUL 26 1971

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED CA 75-6203  
DATE 6/26/87 BY SP5C10MS

SF 157-1203

PAGE TWO

OF NEWTON'S COMMENTS TO HER AND CALLED THE OAKLAND POLICE DEPARTMENT. AS A RESULT NEWTON WAS SUBSEQUENTLY ARRESTED AT THE HOSPITAL.

COURT SESSION WAS ONLY FOR ONE HALF DAY AND AT NOON, JULY SIXTEEN INSTANT, TRIAL RECESSED UNTIL MORNING, JULY NINETEEN NEXT.

A SOURCE FAMILIAR WITH BPP MEMBERS AT BPP NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA, HAS REPORTED BPP <sup>M</sup>MEBERS FEEL NEWTON WILL BE CONVICTED AND MOST DO NOT SEEM TO CARE IF HE IS CONVICTED.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

RESFTEL JULY FIFTEEN LAST.

[REDACTED]  
FURNISHED INFORMATION CONCERNING TRIAL OF NEWTON.

[REDACTED] FURNISHED INFORMATION CONCERNING FEELINGS OF BPP MEMBERS RE NEWTON BEING CONVICTED.

BUREAU WILL BE KEPT ADVISED OF DEVELOPMENTS NEWTON TRIAL.

END

XXXX

EBM FBI WA CLR

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JUL 20 1971

TELETYPE

NR 007 SF PLAIN

8 04 PM NITEL 7/20/71 BEH

TO: DIRECTOR (105-165429)

FROM: SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203)

HUEY P. NEWTON, AKA., RM - BPP (KBE).

Mr. Tolson\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Felt\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Sullivan\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Bishop\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Brennan CD\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Casper\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Dalbey\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gale\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ponder\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Walters\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Soyars\_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room\_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes\_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy\_\_\_\_\_

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IN THE JULY TWENTY INSTANT SESSION OR NEWTON'S RETRIAL,

TESTIFIED HE WAS

AT SCENE OF SHOOTOUT EARLY MORNING OCTOBER TWENTYEIGHT NINETEEN SIXTYSEVEN. HE STATED HE SAW A POLICEMAN WALKING A CIVILIAN TOWARD A PATROL CAR. THE CIVILIAN PUT HIS RIGHT HAND INSIDE HIS SHIRT AND CAME OUT WITH A GUN. THE OFFICER WALKING BEHIND HIM (CIVILIAN) GRABBED HIS ARM, THEY WHIRLED AROUND, AND A SHOT WAS FIRED.

SAID ANOTHER OFFICER STANDING SOME DISTANCE BEHIND THE STRUGGLING MEN STARTED COMING TOWARD THE PAIR AND IT LOOKED LIKE HE WAS HIT WHEN THE SHOOTING STARTED.

END OF PAGE ONE

EX-105

REC-38

105-11-1029-470  
12 JUL 22 1971

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 6/26/87 BY SP5/110ms

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62 JUL 20 1971

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RACIAL  
Sect.

PAGE TWO

SF 157-1203

[ ] CONTINUED HE SAW THE OFFICER WHO WAS STRUGGLING FALL TO THE GROUND WITH HIS HAND STRETCHED OUT IN FRONT AND THE CIVILIAN WAS STILL SHOOTING.

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WHEN [ ] WAS ASKED TO IDENTIFY THE CIVILIAN HE POINTED TO NEWTON.

CROSS-EXAMINATION OF [ ] BY THE DEFENSE OCCURRED DURING AFTER-NOON JULY TWENTY INSTANT.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

RE SFTTEL JULY NINETEEN LAST.

SOURCE IS [ ]

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[ ]  
BUREAU WILL BE KEPT ADVISED.

END

HOLD

## Domestic Intelligence Division

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED <sup>INFORMATIVE NOTE</sup> ~~CR 75-6203~~  
DATE 6/26/87 BY SP5C/LMS Date 7-20-71

Huey P. Newton Supreme Commander of the Black Panther Party (BPP), is presently on trial in State Court, Oakland, California, on manslaughter charges.

Attached relates that a law book belonging to Newton which book apparently is vital to the defense of Newton, is missing. As a result Newton's defense attorney contends a mistrial should be declared by the court.

Copy of attached sent to  
Internal Security Division Unit  
of the Department.

JTK:wrp

LT  
PBT  
WLB  
CPR  
Gm  
6C72A  
WBS

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JUL 19 1971

TELETYPE

LT  
PMT 7

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Soyars \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

NR 011 SF PLAIN

8 25 PM NITEL 7/19/71 BEH

TO: DIRECTOR (105-165429) (ATTN: DID)

FROM: SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED *CA75-4203*  
DATE 6/26/87 BY SP5C.10m3

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HUEY P. NEWTON, AKA, <sup>RACIAL MATTER</sup> RM - BPP (KBE). KEY BLACK EXTREMIST  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY

TRIAL OF NEWTON IN ALAMEDA COUNTY SUPERIOR COURT, OAKLAND,  
CALIFORNIA, RESUMED MORNING JULY NINETEEN INSTANT, AND TESTIMONY  
CENTERED ON MISSING LAW BOOK BELONGING TO NEWTON. THE BOOK, "CALIFORNIA  
CRIMINAL LAW", HAS APPARENTLY BEEN LOST BY THE STATE DISTRICT COURT  
OF APPEALS WHEN IT WAS CONSIDERING MOTIONS FOR RE-TRIAL OF NEWTON.  
POLICE DEPARTMENT  
OFFICER [REDACTED] OAKLAND PD, TESTIFIED HE FOUND THE BOOK WHILE  
COLLECTING EVIDENCE AT THE SCENE WHERE POLICEMAN JOHN FREY HAD  
BEEN SHOT, AND LATER DETERMINED THE BOOK BELONGED TO NEWTON.

[REDACTED] INVESTIGATOR, ALAMEDA COUNTY DISTRICT ATTORNEY  
OFFICE, TESTIFIED HE DISCOVERED THE BOOK WAS MISSING ABOUT TWO WEEKS  
BEFORE START OF NEWTON'S RE-TRIAL AND IMMEDIATELY NOTIFIED ALAMEDA  
COUNTY DA AND APPEALS COURT CLERK.

END OF PAGE ONE

61 JUL 20 1971

"cc to ISD  
Adm. data deleted"

MR. SULLIVAN FOR THE DIRECTOR

REC-32

EX-114

JUL 22 1971

RECEIVED  
FBI SECT.



PAGE TWO

SF 157-1203

NEWTON'S ATTORNEY, CHARLES R. GARRY, STATES BOOK IS MOST VITAL TO THE DEFENSE OF NEWTON AND HAS CONTENDED COURT SHOULD DECLARE MISTRIAL BECAUSE BOOK IS MISSING.

[REDACTED] WHO EXAMINED OFFICER FREY AND OFFICER [REDACTED] ALSO TESTIFIED ON JULY NINETEEN INSTANT CONCERNING CAUSE OF DEATH OF FREY AND INJURIES TO HEANNES.

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ADMINISTRATIVE:

RE SF TEL JULY SIXTEEN LAST.

SOURCE IS [REDACTED]

BUREAU WILL BE KEPT ADVISED.

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END

HOLD

CC-MR. LRENNAN

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JUL 23 1971

TELETYPE

NR 009 SF PLAINTEXT

8:14 PM NITEL 7/23/71 JAK

TO DIRECTOR (105-165429) (ATTN: D.I.D.)

FROM SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203) IP

HUEY P. NEWTON, AKA., RM - BPP (KBE).

TRIAL OF SUBJECT RESUMED JULY TWENTYTHREE INSTANT,  
WITH OAKLAND POLICE DEPARTMENT CRIMINALIST [REDACTED]  
COMPLETING TESTIMONY CONCERNING BULLETS WHICH KILLED OAKLAND  
POLICE OFFICER JOHN FREY AND WOUNDED OFFICER [REDACTED] COURT  
WAS RECESSED AT NOON JULY TWENTYTHREE INSTANT, AND WILL RESUME  
JULY TWENTYSIX NEXT. PROSECUTION DID NOT COMPLETE ITS CASE  
BUT EXPECTS TO COMPLETE MORNING JULY TWENTYSIX NEXT. DEFENSE  
EXPECTED TO BEGIN ITS CASE AFTERNOON JULY TWENTYSIX NEXT AND  
ANTICIPATES CALLING APPROXIMATELY THIRTY WITNESSES.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

RESFTEL JULY TWENTYTWO LAST.

SOURCE IS [REDACTED]

BUREAU WILL BE KEPT ADVISED.

END ...

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED CA75-6203  
DATE 6/26/87 BY SP5C11DMS

J CC MR. TRAINOR  
ROOM 712-A 9&D

AJP FBI WASHDC

60 JUL 23 1971

4336

Mr. Tolson\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Felt\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Sullivan\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Bishop\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Brennan CD ✓  
Mr. Callahan\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Casper\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Dalbey\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gale\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ponder\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Walters\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Soyars\_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room\_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes\_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy\_\_\_\_\_

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b6  
b7C  
b7D

JUL 27 1971

b6  
b7C

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165429)

FROM : *[Signature]* SAC, NEW YORK (157-2702) (C)

SUBJECT: *[Signature]* HUEY P. NEWTON, aka  
RM-BPP (KBE)  
(OO:SF)

DATE: JUL 26 1971

Re San Francisco letter to Director, 6/15/71.

On 7/22/71, inquiry at the offices of Harcourt, Brace and Jananovich, Incorporated, 757 3rd Avenue, NYC, revealed that a book presently being written by J. HERMAN BLAKE and HUEY P. NEWTON will not be published during 1971. The company representative further advised that the book will now be entitled, "Revolutionary Suicide" rather than its supposed previous title, "The Panther". The company indicated that there was a possibility of publication during the Spring of 1972, however, such date may be subsequently changed to a later date.

New York will during the early Spring of 1972, recontact Harcourt, Brace and Janaovich to determine additional particulars relative to the above book.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED *CA75-6203*  
DATE 6/26/87 BY SP5C110ms

EX-109

REC-30 / 105-165429-473

- ② - Bureau (RM)
- 2 - San Francisco (157-1203) (RM)
- 1 - New York

JUL 27 1971

TEB:kbm  
(5)



5010-108

*1 CC 80680*  
Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

*[Handwritten signature]*  
RACIAL INT. SECT.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. C. D. Brennan

FROM : G. C. Moore

SUBJECT: HUEY P. NEWTON  
RACIAL MATTERS -  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
(KEY BLACK EXTREMIST)

1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan  
1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan  
1 - Mr. G. C. Moore  
DATE: 7/20/71  
1 - Mr. H. E. Helgeson  
1 - Mr. R. N. Byers  
1 - Mr. J. L. Adams

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Breman, C.D. \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Dalbey \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Ponder \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
Soyars \_\_\_\_\_  
Room \_\_\_\_\_  
es \_\_\_\_\_  
by \_\_\_\_\_

b6  
b7C

The purpose of this memorandum is to advise regarding status of the trial of Huey P. Newton, Supreme Commander, Black Panther Party (BPP), which began in State Court, Alameda County, Oakland, California, 6/28/71. Newton is on trial for manslaughter growing out of the fatal shooting of a police officer in Oakland on 10/28/67.

Past week was taken up with prosecution witnesses relating events as they occurred on 10/28/67. Defense Attorney Charles Garry objected vigorously and filed one motion for dismissal on grounds Newton has been placed in double jeopardy. This was denied.

Surprise testimony was given by prosecution witness [redacted] who testified concerning Newton's actions and comments when Newton commandeered [redacted] car to take him to the hospital. In the previous trial [redacted] had testified he could not recall what had happened. In this trial [redacted] testified Newton and unknown man, still not identified, jumped into the back seat of [redacted] automobile. Newton was holding his abdomen where he was apparently wounded, and also holding a gun. [redacted] related Newton stated, "I just shot me two dudes." Garry objected to this testimony stating he had tapes that could prove witness perjured himself and asked for recess to obtain tapes. This was denied. Newton reacted with an outburst that caused a near riot in the courtroom. The judge ordered the courtroom cleared, granted a recess and ordered Newton jailed during this time. When court reconvened, Garry claimed his office had been burglarized and the tapes taken. At the conclusion of the day Newton was continued on bond.

JLA:kdf/acs (7)

51 JUL 30 1971

F-308

EX-109

REC-53

CONTINUED - OVER

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 6/26/87 BY SP5C/L PM5

105-165129-474  
JUL 22 1971

5-



Memorandum to Mr. C. D. Brennan  
Re: Huey P. Newton

During remainder of the week the trial continued without incident.

A source familiar with BPP members at BPP national headquarters, Oakland, California, has reported BPP members feel Newton will be convicted and most do not seem to care if he is convicted.

ACTION:

For information.

*WBS*  
*Held*  
*JK*

*over*  
*DB*

*WEL*

*V*  
*ADA*  
*7*  
*WBS*

*glan*

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JUL 22 1971

TELETYPE

NR 010 SF PLAINTEXT

9:42 PM NITEL 7/21/71 CRH

TO: DIRECTOR (105-165429) (ATTN: DID)

FROM: SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203)

b6  
b7C

Mr. Tolson\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Felt\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Sullivan\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Bishop\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. BrennanCD\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Casper\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Dalbey\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gale\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ponder\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Walters\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Soyars\_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room\_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes\_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy\_\_\_\_\_

HUEY P. NEWTON, AKA., RM - BPP (KBE).

FOLLOWING ARE DEVELOPMENTS IN NEWTON TRIAL ON JULY  
TWENTYONE INSTANT:

[REDACTED] OAKLAND POLICE DEPARTMENT CRIMINALIST,  
TESTIFIED THERE WERE TRACES OF MARIJUANA IN NEWTON'S TROUSER  
POCKETS ON MORNING OCTOBER TWENTYEIGHT NINETEEN SIXTYSEVEN,  
WHEN OAKLAND POLICE OFFICER JOHN FREY WAS KILLED. SHE ALSO  
TOLD THE JURY THAT TWO PENNY MATCHBOXES FOUND UNDER DRIVER'S  
SEAT OF CAR NEWTON WAS DRIVING CONTAINED MARIJUANA.

TESTIMONY BY [REDACTED] WAS INTRODUCED BY THE PROSECUTION  
TO SHOW POSSIBLE MOTIVE FOR SLAYING IN THAT NEWTON WAS ON  
PROBATION WHEN HE WAS STOPPED BY OFFICER FREY.

END PAGE ONE

1cc 006

Copies to SD, ID/UC

7/23/71 Admin

JLB/jp deleted

86

62 AUG 2 1971

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 6/26/87 BY SP5C11 Cms

SF 157-1203

PAGE TWO

CHARLES R. GARRY, NEWTON'S ATTORNEY, OBJECTED TO TESTIMONY REGARDING PREVIOUS ALTERCATIONS WITH POLICE BY NEWTON, CLAIMING SUCH TESTIMONY HAS NOTHING TO DO WITH NEWTON'S CASE. SUPERIOR COURT JUDGE HAROLD HOVE RULED THAT SUCH TESTIMONY WAS PERTINENT.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

RESFTEL JULY TWENTY LAST.

SOURCE IS [REDACTED]

b6  
b7C  
b7D

[REDACTED]  
BUREAU WILL BE KEPT ADVISED OF DEVELOPMENTS.

END

RECD TWP

DCW FBI WASH DC RECD 2 WA CLR

F B I

Date: 7/22/71 *CW/DM*Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165429)

FROM: SAC, BALTIMORE (157-4181) RUC

SUBJECT: HUEY PERCY NEWTON, aka;  
RM - BPP  
TREASON (KBE)  
(OO:SF)

b6  
b7CREC-6 *[initials]*

Re Milwaukee airtel and LHM to Bureau, 6/2/71.

Baltimore indices negative to Delaware License  
[redacted] and JAMES and WATSON Funeral Home. Baltimore  
indices negative re Maryland License [redacted]

A search of the Baltimore indices shows subscriber  
of Maryland License [redacted] is subject of BA  
file 100-19746\* with OO as WFO. (WFO file 100-32760). Baltimore  
file is entitled [redacted]

[redacted] SM - C". As noted in Baltimore file 100-  
19746\*, WFO file 100-32760 contains letter dated 5/7/48 directed  
to the Bureau from New York, entitled "VETERANS OF THE ABRAHAM  
LINCOLN BRIGADE; IS - C", which includes information concerning  
individuals who served with the ABRAHAM LINCOLN BRIGADE and  
includes one [redacted]

In addition, [redacted] is mentioned in Baltimore  
file 172-0-6, dated 7/31/70 which shows him as being [redacted]

2-Bureau (Registered Mail)  
2-Milwaukee (157-1113) (Registered Mail)  
1-Baltimore  
WJB:djo  
(5)

EX-105 REC-6

JUL 24 1971

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 6/26/02 BY SP6C11505 RACIAL

INT. SEC.

Approved: *V. T. [initials]*  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JUL 28 1971

TELETYPE

|              |          |
|--------------|----------|
| Mr. Tolson   | _____    |
| Mr. Felt     | _____    |
| Mr. Sullivan | _____    |
| Mr. Mohr     | _____    |
| Mr. Bishop   | _____    |
| Mr. Brennan  | CD _____ |
| Mr. Callahan | _____    |
| Mr. Casper   | _____    |
| Mr. Conrad   | _____    |
| Mr. Dalbey   | _____    |
| Mr. Gale     | _____    |
| Mr. Ponder   | _____    |
| Mr. Rosen    | _____    |
| Mr. Tavel    | _____    |
| Mr. Walters  | _____    |
| Mr. Soyars   | _____    |
| Tele. Room   | _____    |
| Miss Holmes  | _____    |
| Miss Gandy   | _____    |

NR 007 SF PLAIN

11:07PM NITEL 7-27-71 MXG

TO: DIRECTOR (105-165429)

FROM: SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203)

b6  
b7C

HUEY P. NEWTON, RM - BPP (KBE).

FOLLOWING ARE DEVELOPMENTS IN SUBJECT'S RETRIAL PROCEEDINGS  
IN ALAMEDA COUNTY SUPERIOR COURT, OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA, ON JULY TWENTY-  
SEVEN INSTANT.

DURING CROSS-EXAMINATION BY DONALD WHYTE, ALAMEDA COUNTY  
ASSISTANT DISTRICT ATTORNEY, NEWTON FIRMLY STUCK TO HIS VERSION OF  
THE SHOOTOUT IN WHICH OAKLAND POLICE OFFICER JOHN FREY WAS KILLED  
AND DENIED SHOOTING FREY.

NEWTON'S ATTORNEY, CHARLES GARRY, ATTEMPTED TO ENTER AS EVIDENCE  
ARTICLE PUBLISHED IN APRIL SEVENTEEN LAST, ISSUED OF "THE BLACK  
PANTHER" NEWSPAPER CONCERNING DEFECTION OF ELDRIDGE CLEAVER FROM BPP  
AND THE BPP'S DEFECTION FROM THE GHETTO COMMUNITY,  
WHICH WAS WRITTEN BY NEWTON. WHYTE OBJECTED, STATING NEWTON LIVES  
IN POSH PENTHOUSE APARTMENT, "DRESSES TO KILL EVERYDAY" AND TRAVELS  
TO AND FROM THE COURTROOM IN A NEW CADILLAC EVERY DAY AND THAT IF  
ANYBODY HAS DEFECTED FROM THE COMMUNITY, NEWTON HAS. JUDGE HAROLD  
B. HOVE SUSTAINED WHYTE'S OBJECTION AND REFUSED TO LET THE ARTICLE  
BE BROUGHT INTO EVIDENCE. ARGUMENTS REGARDING ENTERING ARTICLE AS  
EVIDENCE NOT HEARD IN FRONT OF JURY.

END PAGE ONE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 6/26/87 BY SP5C/LAM 8

PAGE TWO

SF (157-1203)

[REDACTED] NEGRO MALE FROM OAKLAND, TESTIFIED FOR DEFENSE  
REGARDING BRUTALITY IN THE GHETTO COMMUNITY.

b6  
b7C

[REDACTED] NEGRO MALE WHO WAS WITH NEWTON AT TIME OF  
SHOOTOUT, CALLED TO WITNESS STAND LATE AFTERNOON AND WAS REPRESENTED  
BY ATTORNEY. [REDACTED] ANSWERED THAT HE WAS WITH NEWTON, BUT WHEN  
ASKED HOW LONG HE HAS KNOWN NEWTON, [REDACTED] REFUSED TO ANSWER  
ON GROUNDS OF POSSIBLE INCRIMINATION. ARGUMENTS CONCERNING TESTI-  
MONY BY [REDACTED] HEARD IN JUDGE'S CHAMBERS AND COURT RECESSED UNTIL  
MORNING OF JULY TWENTYEIGHT NEXT.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

RESFTEL JULY TWENTYSIX LAST.

SOURCE IS [REDACTED]

b6  
b7C  
b7D

[REDACTED]  
BUREAU WILL BE KEPT ADVISED OF DEVELOPMENTS.

END

REC 6 FBI WA RDR

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JUL 27 1971

NR 018 SF PLAIN

11:09 PM NITEL 7/26/71 FCO

**TELETYPE**

b6  
b7C

TO: DIRECTOR (105-165429)

FROM: SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203)

HUEY P. NEWTON, AKA., RM - BPP (KBE)

|              |          |
|--------------|----------|
| Mr. Tolson   | _____    |
| Mr. Felt     | _____    |
| Mr. Sullivan | _____    |
| Mr. Mohr     | _____    |
| Mr. Bishop   | _____    |
| Mr. Brennan  | CD _____ |
| Mr. Callahan | _____    |
| Mr. Casper   | _____    |
| Mr. Conrad   | _____    |
| Mr. Dalbey   | _____    |
| Mr. Gale     | _____    |
| Mr. Fender   | _____    |
| Mr. Rosen    | _____    |
| Mr. Tavel    | _____    |
| Mr. Walters  | _____    |
| Mr. Soyars   | _____    |
| Tele. Room   | _____    |
| Miss Holmes  | _____    |
| Miss Gandy   | _____    |

SUBJECT'S RETRIAL RESUMED IN ALAMEDA COUNTY SUPERIOR COURT, OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA, JULY TWENTYSIX INSTANT, WITH FOLLOWING DEVELOPMENTS.

PROSECUTION COMPLETED PRESENTATION OF ITS CASE AND RESTED. PRIOR TO DEFENSE BEGINNING ITS CASE, SUBJECT'S ATTORNEY CHARLES R. GARRY MADE MOTION THAT SUBJECT BE ACQUITTED SINCE SUBJECT'S LAW BOOK WHICH HE DESCRIBED AS BEING MOST CRUCIAL EVIDENCE TO THE DEFENSE HAD BEEN LOST OR MISPLACED. PRESIDING JUDGE HAROLD HOVE DENIED MOTION.

SUBJECT WAS CALLED AS FIRST WITNESS FOR DEFENSE AND TESTIFIED HE DID NOT KILL OAKLAND POLICE OFFICER JOHN FREY, THAT HE DID NOT HAVE A GUN ON MORNING OF OCTOBER TWENTYEIGHT, NINETEEN SIXTYSEVEN, AND HAD NO MARIJUANA IN HIS POSSESSION.

END PAGE ONE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED **CA75-6203**  
DATE 6/24/87 BY SP5C110MS

**REC-62**

**EX-104**

**478**  
16 JUL 29 1971

cc 150  
Admin

**58 AUG 4 1971**

**RECEIVED**

PAGE TWO

SF 157-1203

SUBJECT CLAIMS OFFICER FREY SHOT HIM (SUBJECT) IN STOMACH AND SUBJECT DOES NOT REMEMBER ANYTHING AFTER THAT.

TESTIMONY BY NEWTON CONTINUING.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

RESFTEL JULY TWENTYTHREE LAST.

SOURCE IS

b6  
b7C  
b7D

BUREAU WILL BE KEPT ADVISED OF DEVELOPMENTS.

END

HOLD



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

NR 009 SF PLAIN

12:20AM NITEL 7/28/71 (SENT 7/29/71) FGO

TO: DIRECTOR (105-165429)

ATTN: (DID)

FROM: SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203)

b6  
b7C

HUEY P. NEWTON, AKA., RM - BPP (KBE).

Mr. Tolson\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Felt\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Sullivan\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Bishop\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. BrennanCD\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Casper\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Dalbey\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gale\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ponder\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Walters\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Soyars\_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room\_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes\_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy\_\_\_\_\_

FOLLOWING ARE DEVELOPMENTS IN NEWTON RETRIAL IN ALAMEDA  
COUNTY SUPERIOR COURT, OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA, ON JULY TWENTYEIGHT  
INSTANT:

[REDACTED] DEFENSE WITNESS, DID NOT APPEAR IN COURT ON TIME  
AND JUDGE HAROLD B. HOVE ISSUED BENCH WARRANT FOR ARREST. [REDACTED]  
ARRIVED IN COURT FORTYFIVE MINUTES LATE, EXPLAINING HE HAD OVERSLEPT,  
AND BENCH WARRANT WITHDRAWN. UNDER QUESTIONING BY DEFENSE ATTORNEY  
CHARLES R. GARRY [REDACTED] REFUSED TO ANSWER ANY QUESTIONS EXCEPT  
TO GIVE HIS NAME AND ADDRESS. [REDACTED] WAS EXCUSED AFTER CLAIMING:  
CONSTITUTIONAL IMMUNITY.

[REDACTED] RETIRED SURGEON, TESTIFIED SUBJECT WAS  
SUFFERING FROM A PSYCHIC AND TRAUMATIC SHOCK WHEN HE ARRIVED AT AN  
OAKLAND HOSPITAL AN HOUR AFTER THE SHOOTING, WITH WOUNDS OF THE STOMACH.  
ADMINISTRATIVE:

RESFTEL JULY TWENTYSEVEN LAST

SOURCE IS [REDACTED]

JUL 30 1971

BUREAU WILL BE KEPT ADVISED OF PERTINENT DEVELOPMENTS.

END...

HOLD

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 6/26/87 BY SP5C11DMS

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JUL 30 1971

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Felt\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Sullivan\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Bishop\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. BrennanCD\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Casper\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Dalbey\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gale\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ponder\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Walters\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Soyars\_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room\_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes\_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy\_\_\_\_\_

b6  
b7C

NR 017 SF PLAINTEXT

12:08AM NITEL 729/71

(SENT 7/30/71) JAK

TO DIRECTOR (105-165429)

FROM SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203) 3P

HUEY P. NEWTON, AKA., RM - BPP (KBE).

FOLLOWING ARE THE DEVELOPMENTS OF SUBJECT'S RETRIAL  
IN ALAMEDA COUNTY SUPERIOR COURT, OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA:

[REDACTED] WHO TESTIFIED THAT HE HAD SEEN SUBJECT  
SHOOT OAKLAND POLICE DEPARTMENT OFFICER JOHN FREY, WAS CALLED  
AS WITNESS FOR THE DEFENSE. [REDACTED] SUPPORTED [REDACTED]  
TESTIMONY AND DENIED HE HAD EVER TOLD DEFENSE INVESTIGATORS  
THAT [REDACTED] DIDN'T SEE ANTHING AT THE SCENE OF THE SHOOTING.  
BECAUSE HE FELL TO THE BOTTOM OF THE BUS WHEN THE SHOOTING  
STARTED. HE STATED HE TOLD THE INVESTIGATORS THAT [REDACTED]  
WAS STOOPING DOWN TOWARD THE RADIO TELEPHONE CALLING FOR HELP.  
END PAGE ONE

REC-39  
EX-113

22 AUG 3 1971

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED CA75-6203  
DATE 6/26/87 BY SP5C10ms

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PAGE TWO

SF 157-1203

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SUBJECT'S ATTORNEY CHARLES R. GARRY, THEN CALLED

[REDACTED]  
IS A PRIVATE INVESTIGATOR AND [REDACTED] IS AN ATTORNEY. BOTH  
TESTIFIED THAT [REDACTED] HAD TOLD THEM EARLY THIS MONTH  
THAT [REDACTED] COULD NOT HAVE SEEN ANYTHING BECAUSE HE FELL  
TO THE BOTTOM OF THE BUS.

THE DEFENSE RESTED ITS CASE AFTER [REDACTED] AND [REDACTED]  
WERE EXCUSED WITH A PROVISIO THAT IT MIGHT REOPEN IT TO TAKE  
TESTIMONY OF ONE WITNESS ON AUGUST TWO NEXT, WHO IS CURRENTLY  
OUT OF TOWN.

SUPERIOR COURT JUDGE HAROLD B. HOVE/INDICATED FINAL  
ARGUMENTS WILL START AUGUST TWO NEXT, AND CASE WILL PROBABLY  
GO TO THE JURY EARLY TUESDAY, AUGUST THREE NEXT. THERE WILL  
BE NO COURT SESSION ON JULY THIRTY NEXT.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

RESFTEL JULY TWENTYEIGHT LAST.

END PAGE TWO

PAGE THREE

SF 157-1203

SOURCE IS

[REDACTED]

b6  
b7C  
b7D

[REDACTED]

BUREAU WILL BE KEPT ADVISED OF PERTINENT DEVELOPMENTS.

END...

RECD 012 007 017

DCW FI FBI WASH DC



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

AUG 3 1971

TELETYPE

|              |       |
|--------------|-------|
| Mr. Tolson   | _____ |
| Mr. Felt     | _____ |
| Mr. Sullivan | _____ |
| Mr. Mohr     | _____ |
| Mr. Bishop   | _____ |
| Mr. DeLoach  | _____ |
| Mr. Callahan | _____ |
| Mr. Casper   | _____ |
| Mr. Conrad   | _____ |
| Mr. Dalbey   | _____ |
| Mr. Gale     | _____ |
| Mr. Ponder   | _____ |
| Mr. Rosen    | _____ |
| Mr. Tavel    | _____ |
| Mr. Walters  | _____ |
| Mr. Soyars   | _____ |
| Tele. Room   | _____ |
| Miss Holmes  | _____ |
| Miss Gandy   | _____ |

NR 010 SF PLAINTEXT

8:37PM NITEL 8/3/71 CRH

TO: DIRECTOR (105-165429)

(ATTN: DID)

FROM: SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203)

HUEY PERCY NEWTON, AKA, RM-BPP (KBE).

ON MORNING AUGUST THREE, INSTANT, ALAMEDA COUNTY SUPERIOR COURT JUDGE HAROLD B. HOVE, OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA, GAVE INSTRUCTIONS TO JURY IN REGARDS TO TRIAL OF SUBJECT, AND JURY BEGAN DELIBERATIONS. DURING AFTERNOON AUGUST THREE, INSTANT, ONE WOMAN JUROR REQUESTED THAT SOME TESTIMONY BE READ TO JURY WHICH WAS DONE, AND JURY AGAIN RESUMED DELIBERATIONS.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

RE SAN FRANCISCO TELETYPE, AUGUST TWO LAST.

SOURCE IS [REDACTED]

BUREAU WILL BE IMMEDIATELY ADVISED OF VERDICT REACHED

BY JURY.

END

HOLFD

58 AUG 6 - 1971

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED CA75-6203  
DATE 6/26/87 BY SP5C10ms

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

AUG 3 1971

NR 011 SF PLAIN

TELETYPE

11:11PM NITEL 8/2/71 CRH

TO: DIRECTOR (105-165429) (DID)

FROM: SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203)

HUEY P. NEWTON, AKA., RM - BPP (KBE).

RETRIAL OF SUBJECT RESUMED MORNING AUGUST TWO  
INSTANT, IN SUPERIOR COURT, OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA, WITH SUBJECT'S  
ATTORNEY CHARLES R. GARRY MAKING MOTION FOR DISMISSAL OF  
CHARGES AGAINST SUBJECT ON GROUNDS OF RECENT "UNDUE, ADVERSE  
AND UNNECESSARY PUBLICITY ABOUT BLACK PANTHERS". GARRY  
POINTED SPECIFICALLY TO NEWSPAPER ACCOUNTS LAST WEEK OF  
REFUSAL TO RELEASE [REDACTED] FROM  
PRISON ON BAIL IN ALAMEDA COUNTY SUPERIOR COURT AND MENTIONED  
COMMENTS MADE BY JUDGE WILLIAM J. HAYES WHO DENIED BAIL FOR  
[REDACTED] MOTION MADE IN ABSENCE OF JURY AND JUDGE HAROLD B.  
HOVE DENIED THE DEFENSE MOTION WITHOUT COMMENT.

END PAGE ONE

Mr. Tolson\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Felt\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Sullivan\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Bishop\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Brennan CD\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Casper\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Dalbey\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gale\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ponder\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Walters\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Soyars\_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room\_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes\_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy\_\_\_\_\_

b6  
b7C

REC-41

EX-114

16 AUG 4 1971

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 6/26/87 BY SP5C11 OMS

5  
55 AUG 9 1971

SF 157-1203

PAGE TWO

SUMMATION ARGUMENTS BY PROSECUTOR DONALD WHYTE TOOK  
UP ALL OF MORNING SESSION OF COURT AND AFTERNOON SESSION  
COMMENCED WITH DEFENSE ATTORNEY GARRY PRESENTING ARGUMENTS.  
CASE EXPECTED TO GO TO JURY LATE AFTERNOON AUGUST TWO INSTANT  
OR MORNING AUGUST THREE NEXT.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

RESFTEL JULY TWENTYNINE LAST.

SOURCE IS [REDACTED]

b6  
b7C  
b7D

[REDACTED]  
BUREAU WILL BE KEPT ADVISED.

END

DCW

FBI WASH DC

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. C. D. Brennan

FROM : G. C. Moore

SUBJECT: HUEY P. NEWTON  
RACIAL MATTERS -  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
(KEY BLACK EXTREMIST)

1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan  
1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan  
1 - Mr. G. C. Moore

DATE: 7/27/71

1 - Mr. H. E. Helgeson  
1 - Mr. R. N. Byers  
1 - Mr. J. L. Adams

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED *CA75-4203*  
DATE 6/26/87 BY SP5C110NS

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Brennan, C.D. \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Dalbey \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Ponder \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
Soyars \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

The purpose of this memorandum is to advise regarding status of the trial of Huey P. Newton, Supreme Commander, Black Panther Party (BPP), which began in State Court, Alameda County, Oakland, California, 6/28/71. Newton is on trial for manslaughter growing out of the fatal shooting of a police officer in Oakland on 10/28/67.

The prosecution completed presentation of its case on morning of 7/26/71. Subject's attorney, Charles R. Garry, made motion for directed verdict of acquittal based on fact law book subject was carrying at time of shooting, and which Garry claimed was crucial evidence to the defense, had been lost or misplaced by the State District Court of Appeals when it was considering motions for retrial of Newton. The presiding judge denied the motion.

During the past week an Oakland, California, bus driver, who had observed the scene of the shootout, identified Newton as the person he observed shoot the two police officers on the morning of 10/28/67.

An Oakland Police Department criminologist testified there were traces of marijuana in Newton's trouser pockets and that two penny matchboxes, found under driver's seat of car Newton was driving, contained marijuana. This testimony introduced to show possible motive for slaying in that Newton was on probation when stopped. Garry objected claiming such testimony had nothing to do with case. Trial judge ruled testimony pertinent. Prosecution also presented testimony showing Newton had previously interfered with police officers, on another occasion, while an arrest was being made. Garry objected to this testimony.

JLA:acs (7)

CONTINUED - OVER

COPY MADE FOR MR. TOLSON



Memorandum to Mr. C. D. Brennan  
Re: Huey P. Newton

Prosecution argued testimony pertinent since it showed intent and motivation in the shooting of police officer. Prosecution also said testimony will prove that Newton's defense of unconsciousness is contrived. Judge denied motion to block testimony.

The prosecution has presented a much stronger case during this trial. The witnesses have testified without any apparent fear from intimidation that they received during the first trial. During the first trial the driver of the automobile that took Newton to the hospital testified that he could not remember anything whereas in this trial he testified strongly as to Newton's stating when he got in the car, "I just shot me two dudes." The bus driver who was hazy in his recollection in the first trial testified in a positive manner in this one. The presiding judge is being firm but fair and not allowing Garry to dominate the courtroom or put on his usual theatrics. From this it appears the prosecution has built a much stronger case this time. It remains to be seen how Garry will handle the defense and how the jury will react.

Garry opened the defense on the afternoon of 7/26/71 by calling Newton as his first witness. Newton testified he did not have a gun on morning of 10/28/67 and had no marijuana in his possession. Newton claims officer John Frey, the murdered policeman, had shot him in the stomach and he does not remember anything after that. Newton's testimony is continuing today.

ACTION:

For information.

*[Handwritten signatures and initials: "WES", "JAN 2", "WBS", "gmm", "JH"]*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. C. D. Brennan

FROM : G. C. Moore

SUBJECT: HUEY P. NEWTON  
RACIAL MATTERS -  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
(KEY BLACK EXTREMIST)

1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan  
1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan  
1 - Mr. G. C. Moore

DATE: 7/30/71

1 - Mr. H. E. Helgeson  
1 - Mr. R. N. Byers  
1 - Mr. J. L. Adams

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Brennan, C.D. \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Dalbey \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Ponder \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
Soyars \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

b6  
b7C

The purpose of this memorandum is to advise regarding status of the trial of Huey P. Newton, Supreme Commander, Black Panther Party (BPP), which began in State Court, Alameda County, Oakland, California, 6/28/71. Newton is on trial for manslaughter growing out of the fatal shooting of a police officer in Oakland on 10/28/67.

The defense rested 7/29/71. Final arguments will start 8/2/71. There will be no court session 7/30/71.

Newton took the stand in his own defense 7/26/71 and defense attorney Charles R. Garry tried to use the missing law book Newton was carrying when the shooting occurred as part of his defense. Newton claimed he was trying to show the officer a passage in the book on "reasonable cause for arrest." The prosecutor produced an identical copy of the book and asked Newton if he was familiar with the book. Newton replied "yes." The prosecutor then asked Newton to find the passage on "reasonable cause for arrest." Newton, after looking through the book, replied, "I just can't find it right now." "That's right," the prosecutor responded, "Because it's not in the book."

Garry also tried to introduce an article from "The Black Panther" paper of 4/17/71 concerning the split in the BPP to show that Huey Newton's group has taken a less militant stand. The prosecutor objected bringing out the split in the party and the defections of some members was "self-serving hearsay of the worse kind." He said, "This man lives in posh luxury, in a penthouse apartment, and he dresses to kill every

JLA:acs (7)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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DATE 6/26/87 BY SP5C110MS

REC-30 105

CONTINUED - OVER

8 AUG 4 1971

EX-112

Memorandum to Mr. C. D. Brennan  
Re: Huey P. Newton

day. And this man drives away in a Cadillac every day -- if anybody has defected from the community Newton has." This almost brought a response from Newton who started to rise to his feet but was told to be seated by the trial judge. Garry's motion to introduce the newspaper was denied.

Newton's defense went against him when one defense witness failed to show in court and then when a bench warrant was issued made his appearance. He refused to answer any questions claiming constitutional immunity.

Also, [redacted]  
[redacted] who had testified earlier to seeing Newton shoot the Oakland police officer, backed up [redacted] testimony whereas Garry expected him to testify [redacted] had told him he could not see anything.

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It would appear that Garry was not as well prepared to handle the defense during this trial as he might have been. Newton was crossed up in his testimony, one witness refused to testify and [redacted] supported [redacted] testimony. The possibility exists, as previously reported by a source, that the Panthers do not care whether or not Newton goes to jail. It seems that he is now a luxurious liability with his fancy apartment and expensive tastes.

ACTION:

For information.

*[Handwritten signatures: JAC, HEC, Bruce, WEL, and a signature in the top right corner]*

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

AUG 6 1971

NR 016 SF CODE

11:35PM NITEL 8/5/71 CRH

**TELETYPE**

TO: DIRECTOR (105-165429)

(ATTN: DID)

FROM: SAN FRANCISCO (157-1203)

HUEY P. NEWTON, AKA., RM - BPP (KBE).

FIRST SOURCE ADVISED THAT JURY IN SUBJECT'S RETRIAL  
DELIBERATED ALL DAY, AUGUST FIVE INSTANT, AND WILL RETIRE  
AT APPROXIMATELY FIVE P.M., FOR THE NIGHT.

ON AUGUST FIVE INSTANT, SUBJECT'S ATTORNEY CHARLES R.  
GARRY MADE MOTION TO DECLARE A MISTRIAL AND DISMISS CHARGES  
OF VOLUNTARY MANSLAUGHTER AGAINST SUBJECT ON GROUNDS THAT  
THE PRESIDING SUPERIOR COURT JUDGE, ROBERT KRONINGER IS  
INTERFERING WITH SUBJECT'S TRIAL IN AN ATTEMPT TO ASSIGN  
ANOTHER CASE TO JUDGE HAROLD B. HOVE WHILE THE JURY IS  
DELIBERATING ON A VERDICT IN SUBJECT'S CASE. JUDGE HOVE  
DENIED THE MOTION, BUT STATED HE AGREED HIS COMPLETE ATTENTION  
SHOULD BE EXCLUSIVELY FOCUSED ON SUBJECT'S CASE AT THIS TIME  
END PAGE ONE

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED <sup>CA78-6203</sup>  
DATE 6/26/87 BY SP5C110MS

REC-53

EX-100

6 AUG 11 1971

Mr. Tolson  
Mr. Felt  
Mr. Sullivan  
Mr. Mohr  
Mr. Bishop  
Mr. Casper  
Mr. Callahan  
Mr. Conrad  
Mr. Dalbey  
Mr. Gale  
Mr. Ponder  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Tavel  
Mr. Walters  
Mr. Soyars  
Tele. Room  
Miss Holmes  
Miss Gandy

b6  
b7C

AUG 6 1971



PAGE TWO

SF 157-1203

AND SHOULD NOT BE DIVIDED WITH ANOTHER TRIAL. BECAUSE OF THIS JUDGE HOVE HAS DISMISSED THE JURY IN THE OTHER CASE THAT WAS ASSIGNED TO HIM SO AS NOT TO INTERFERE WITH SUBJECT'S TRIAL.

SECOND SOURCE HAS REPORTED THAT NEWTON NOW ANTICIPATES HUNG JURY IN HIS TRIAL.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

RESFTEL AUGUST FIVE INSTANT.

FIRST SOURCE IS [REDACTED]

b2  
b6  
b7C  
b7D

[REDACTED]  
SECOND SOURCE IS [REDACTED]

BUREAU WILL BE KEPT ADVISED.

END

HOLD

CC MR. TRAINOR  
ROOM 712-A 9&D

## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

|                                               |                                          |                                                                                            |                                                 |
|-----------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|
| REPORTING OFFICE<br><b>SAN FRANCISCO</b>      | OFFICE OF ORIGIN<br><b>SAN FRANCISCO</b> | DATE<br><b>7/29/71</b>                                                                     | INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD<br><b>4/2/71 - 7/23/71</b> |
| TITLE OF CASE<br><b>HUEY PERCY NEWTON aka</b> |                                          | REPORT MADE BY<br><div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 150px; height: 20px;"></div> | TYPED BY<br><b>kle</b>                          |
|                                               |                                          | CHARACTER OF CASE                                                                          |                                                 |

RM - BPP

(KEY BLACK EXTREMIST)

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES

ADVISED BY ROUTING

SLIP (S) BY *RW*DATE *6/1/83*

*6/26/87* *SP5C110ms*  
 ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 DATE *8-26-82* BY *1678 RFP/lis*

REFERENCE: Report of SA JOSEPH L. COLEMAN dated 4/29/71,  
 at San Francisco.

- P -

ADMINISTRATIVE:

Two (2) copies of an FD 376 are being stapled  
 to this report.

The investigative period of this report precedes  
 the investigative period of referenced report in order to

| ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |                                |      |       |         |            | ACQUIT-<br>TALS                                                               | CASE HAS BEEN:                                                                                                                                                                    |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------|------|-------|---------|------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| CONVIC.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    | AUTO.                          | FUG. | FINES | SAVINGS | RECOVERIES |                                                                               |                                                                                                                                                                                   |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |                                |      |       |         |            |                                                                               | PENDING OVER ONE YEAR <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO<br>PENDING PROSECUTION<br>OVER SIX MONTHS <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO |
| APPROVED <i>RG</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |                                |      |       |         |            | SPECIAL AGENT<br>IN CHARGE                                                    |                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| COPIES MADE:                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |                                |      |       |         |            | DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW                                                  |                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| 5 - Bureau (105-165429) (RM)<br>1 - Secret Service, San Francisco<br>(Class 3, 5a, b, c) (RM)<br>2 - San Francisco (157-1203)<br>ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED<br>HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED<br>EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN<br>OTHERWISE <i>1cc 806 900</i> |                                |      |       |         |            | <i>157-1203-486</i><br><b>REC-23</b><br><b>EX 101</b><br><b>11 AUG 6 1971</b> |                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| Dissemination Record of Attached Report                                                                                                                                                                                                    |                                |      |       |         |            | Notations                                                                     |                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| Agency                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | <i>Copies to ISD, IDIU, SS</i> |      |       |         |            | <b>RACIAL INT. SECT.</b>                                                      |                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| Request Recd.                                                                                                                                                                                                                              | <i>8/6/71</i>                  |      |       |         |            |                                                                               |                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| Date Fwd.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | <i>JLA/jr</i>                  |      |       |         |            |                                                                               |                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| How Fwd.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |                                |      |       |         |            |                                                                               |                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| By                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         | <b>55 AUG 13 1971</b>          |      |       |         |            |                                                                               |                                                                                                                                                                                   |

COVER PAGE

SF 157-1203  
JLC/kle

include results of investigation not available at the time referenced report was prepared.

The Special Agents who observed the arrival of Subject in New York City on April 29, 1971, are [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

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b7C

Special Agent who observed departure of Subject from New York City on May 12, 1971, is [REDACTED]

Special Agent who observed Subject's departure from San Francisco on June 6, 1971, is [REDACTED]

Special Agents who observed the arrival of Subject at San Francisco from New York City on June 8, 1971, are [REDACTED] AND [REDACTED]

INFORMANTS:

SOURCE

FILE WHERE LOCATED

SF T-1  
[REDACTED]

Instant report

b2  
b7D

SF T-2  
[REDACTED]

SF T-3  
[REDACTED]

157-1203-3975, 3977

SF T-4  
[REDACTED]

SF T-5  
[REDACTED]

157-1203-3443

SF 157-1203  
RLC/kle

SOURCE

FILE WHERE LOCATED

SF T-6

[REDACTED]

SF T-7

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b2  
b7D

SF T-8

[REDACTED]

SF T-9

[REDACTED]

157-1203-3009, 3154

SF T-10

[REDACTED]

157-1203-3201

SF T-11

[REDACTED]

SF T-12

is known to the  
San Francisco  
Office

157-1203-2900

SF T-13

[REDACTED]

157-1203-3331

SF T-14

[REDACTED]

157-1203-3592



SF 157-1203  
JLC/kle

LEADS:

SAN FRANCISCO

AT SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA. 1. Will follow  
and report results of Subject's retrial.

2. Will follow and report information concerning  
Subject's activities.

1. ☒ Subject's name is included in the ☒ Security Index ☐ Agitator Index ☐ Reserve Index.
  2. ☒ The data appearing on the ☒ Security Index Card ☐ Agitator Index Card are current.
  3. ☐ The data appearing on the Reserve Index Card ☐ A ☐ B ☐ are current ☐ have been changed.
  4. ☐ Changes on the ☐ Security Index Card ☐ Agitator Index Card are necessary and ☐ Form FD-122 ☐ FD-397 submitted to the Bureau.
  5. ☒ A suitable photograph ☒ is ☐ is not available.  
Date photograph was taken 8/5/70
  6. ☐ Subject is employed in a key facility and \_\_\_\_\_ is charged with security responsibility. Interested agencies are \_\_\_\_\_
  7. ☒ This report is classified "~~confidential~~" ~~SECRET~~  
(state reason)  
since the unauthorized disclosure of the information contained therein could be prejudicial to the defense interests of the nation.
  8. ☐ Subject previously interviewed (dates) \_\_\_\_\_  
☐ Subject was not reinterviewed because (state reason)
- Previous attempts have been made to interview Subject, but he has declined to talk to the FBI.
9. ☐ This case no longer meets the ☐ Security Index ☐ Agitator Index criteria and a letter has been directed to the Bureau recommending cancellation.
  10. ☒ This case has been reevaluated in the light of the ☒ Security Index ☐ Agitator Index criteria and it continues to fall within such criteria because (state reason)  
Subject is the Minister of Defense and co-founder of the BPP.
  11. ☒ Subject's SI card is tabbed ☒ Priority I ☐ Priority II ☐ Priority III.  
☒ Subject's activities warrant such tabbing because (state reasons)  
of his position as leader of the BPP.

- E -

COVER PAGE

SF 157-1203  
RLC/kle

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE  
NON-SYMBOL SOURCE PAGE

SF T-12 is

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b7D



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Director

United States Secret Service  
Department of the Treasury  
Washington, D. C. 20220

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP (S) OF  
DATE 6/29/78 and

July 29, 1971

Dear Sir:

The information furnished herewith concerns an individual who is believed to be covered by the agreement between the FBI and Secret Service concerning Presidential protection, and to fall within the category or categories checked.

1. ☐ Has attempted or threatened bodily harm to any government official or employee, including foreign government officials residing in or planning an imminent visit to the U. S., because of his official status.
2. ☐ Has attempted or threatened to redress a grievance against any public official by other than legal means.
3. ☒ Because of background is potentially dangerous; or has been identified as member or participant in communist movement; or has been under active investigation as member of other group or organization inimical to U. S.
4. ☐ U. S. citizens or residents who defect from the U. S. to countries in the Soviet or Chinese Communist blocs and return.
5. ☒ Subversives, ultrarightists, racists and fascists who meet one or more of the following criteria:
  - (a) ☒ Evidence of emotional instability (including unstable residence and employment record) or irrational or suicidal behavior;
  - (b) ☒ Expressions of strong or violent anti-U. S. sentiment;
  - (c) ☒ Prior acts (including arrests or convictions) or conduct or statements indicating a propensity for violence and antipathy toward good order and government.
6. ☐ Individuals involved in illegal bombing or illegal bomb-making.

Photograph ☒ has been furnished ☐ enclosed ☐ is not available  
☐ may be available through \_\_\_\_\_

Very truly yours,

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

*J. Edgar Hoover*  
John Edgar Hoover  
Director

DECLASSIFIED BY 1259  
ON 6-17-78  
SSP lch

1 - Special Agent in Charge (Enclosure(s) (1)  
U. S. Secret Service, San Francisco

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Enclosure(s)(1) (RM) (Upon removal of classified enclosures, if any, this transmittal form becomes UNCLASSIFIED.)

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DATE 8-26-82 BY 1678 RFP/Q  
6/26/87 SP5C110MS CWS, 1203



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~

Copy to: 1 - Secret Service, San Francisco  
(Class 3, 5a, b, c) (Encl 2) (RM)

b6  
b7C

Report of:

Date:

7/29/71

Office: SAN FRANCISCO

Field Office File #: 157-1203

Bureau File #: 105-165429

Title:

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP (S) OF

Character:

RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

DATE

6/28/71  
30

## Synopsis:

HUEY PERCY NEWTON, Minister of Defense of the Black Panther Party (BPP), continues to reside in Apt. 25A, 1200 Lake Shore Avenue, Oakland, California. Subject's retrial for manslaughter commenced 6/28/71, in Alameda County Superior Court, Oakland, and is still in process. Subject continues to be head of the BPP and makes final decisions regarding BPP policies and procedures. Subject made three radio and/or television appearances during April and May, 1971, and spoke before a theological group in Berkeley, Calif., on 5/19/71, when he described new directions for the BPP. In Subject's recent speeches and writings he has dwelled at length on BPP community survival programs such as free breakfast for school children, free medical services, free shoes and free clothing for the community. Subject has admitted the BPP has lost some of its favor with the community and is seeking to involve itself with community problems in order to gain back community support. Subject's advisor, [redacted] edits and re-writes Subject's speeches and newspaper articles. During April - June, 1971, Subject made three trips to New York City. During June and July, 1971, Subject made two

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~

Group 1

Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

DECLASSIFIED BY 1678 RFP/078  
ON 8-26-82  
6/26/87 6A75-6203

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CLASSIFIED BY 1259  
EXEMPT FROM GDS. CATEGORY 2  
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE

SF 157-1203  
JLC/kle

trips to Los Angeles. Subject continues to tell [redacted]  
[redacted] how to run the BPP  
corporation, Stronghold Consolidated Productions, Inc.  
(SCPI), and has made several transactions concerning real  
estate purchases for the BPP. Subject wants three new  
corporations set up to handle various BPP entities.

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b7C

- P -

ENCLOSURES:

1. One (1) copy of article by HUEY P. NEWTON  
entitled "Black Capitalism Re-analyzed" which  
appeared in June 5, 1971, issue of "The  
Black Panther" newspaper.
2. One (1) copy of article by HUEY P. NEWTON  
entitled "A Revolutionary Analysis of Sweet  
Sweetback's Baadasssss Song" which appeared in  
June 19, 1971, issue of "The Black Panther"  
newspaper.

SF 157-1203  
JLC/kle

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SF 157-1203  
JLC/kle

DETAILS:

I. BACKGROUND

A. Residence

Subject continues to reside in Apartment 25A, Twelve Hundred Lakeshore Apartments, 1200 Lake Shore Avenue, Oakland, California.

SF T-1  
July 23, 1971

B. Employment

Subject is publicly known as the Minister of Defense of the Black Panther Party (BPP).

The Black Panther Party (BPP) is a black extremist organization started in Oakland, California, in December, 1966. It advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics to bring about the overthrow of the United States Government.

Subject is engaged on a full-time basis as head of the BPP.

SF T-2  
July 23, 1971

C. Status of Retrial

On June 28, 1971, Subject's retrial for manslaughter commenced in Alameda County's Superior Court, Department 6,

SF 157-1203  
JLC/kle

Oakland, California. Superior Court Judge HAROLD B. HOVE is hearing the case and Alameda County Assistant District Attorney DONALD WHYTE is handling the prosecution. Subject's attorney is CHARLES R. GARRY, a well-known San Francisco Attorney, who handles BPP criminal matters. As of July 23, 1971, the trial was still in process.

[redacted]  
Intelligence Unit  
Oakland Police Department  
June 28, 1971 -  
July 23, 1971

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#### D. Driver's License

On July 7, 1971, an inquiry of the California Department of Motor Vehicles, Driver's License Division, through California Law Enforcement Teletype System (CLETS) revealed that on April 19, 1967, Subject was issued California driver's license number K0124266.

#### E. Vehicle

On July 7, 1971, an inquiry of California Department of Motor Vehicles through CLETS revealed that Subject is the registered owner of a 1963 Dodge sedan, Vehicle Identification Number 6135151293 which bears 1971 California license AXP 921.

### II. ACTIVITIES

#### A. General Role as Head of the BPP

*6/1*  
[redacted] was instructed by Subject to advise all BPP offices that each BPP office must submit a

SF 157-1203  
JLC/kle

schedule in writing of all requests for filmings and tapings before making any commitments.

SF T-2  
April 9, 1971

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[redacted] is a BPP member in Oakland, California. She is currently serving as Subject's secretary.

On or about April 19, 1971, Subject made an informal visit to Merritt College, Oakland, California, reportedly to establish friendly relations on that campus.

SF T-3  
May 14, 1971

On April 19, 1971, Subject was informed that eight individuals affiliated with the BPP had been arrested in New York City on charges of possession of dangerous weapons and that their bail totaled \$5,000 cash. Subject instructed that Attorney [redacted] in New York City be advised and for [redacted] to handle the bailing out of those persons arrested.

SF T-2  
April 19, 1971

*OK. [signature]*  
[redacted] has been publicly identified as an attorney for the BPP in New York City and the legal organizer of Stronghold Consolidated Productions, Inc. (SCPI).

SCPI is a BPP corporation in New York which is utilized to handle BPP financial transactions.

After SAMUEL L. NAPIER was killed in New York City on April 17, 1971, Subject decreed that the BPP would hold a revolutionary funeral for NAPIER at St. Augustine's

SF 157-1203  
JLC/kle

Episcopal Church, Oakland, California, on April 24, 1971, and that [redacted] would preside over the funeral services.

b6  
b7C

SF T-4  
April 20, 1971

SAMUEL L. NAPIER is publicly known as the former distribution manager of "The Black Panther" newspaper, the official publication of the BPP. NAPIER was shot and killed in New York City on April 17, 1971, reportedly by unknown Negro males.

[redacted] is publicly known as a spiritual advisor for the BPP in Oakland, California.

On April 24, 1971, the BPP held a revolutionary funeral service for SAM NAPIER at St. Augustine's Episcopal Church, Oakland. The service was conducted by [redacted]. Subject delivered a short eulogy in which he described NAPIER as a servant of the people.

SF T-5  
April 27, 1971

The May 1, 1971, issue of "The Black Panther" contained an article setting forth the eulogy for SAMUEL L. NAPIER delivered by Subject. Following is the text of the eulogy as set forth in the BPP newspaper.

"There's very much in my heart today. And, I have very few words to express them. Samuel L. Napier was one of the first brothers to join the Black Panther Party, and therefore he is a veteran of the struggle. He's always been attached to distribution of our paper, the Black



SF 157-1203  
JLC/kle

Panther paper, which is the life of the Party. The voice of the people. Those who would cut off Samuel Napier would cut off the voice of the people. But, because the voice is manifested in all of us, collectively, the voice will go on.

"Death comes to all of us, but it varies in its significance. To die for the reactionaries, the racists, the capitalists is lighter than a feather. But to die for the people, in service to the people is heavier than any mountain and deeper than any sea. Samuel's death is very significant. He will live on in spirit, because we'll make sure that we will advance the struggle. And we will cry for those who are living, because we are in very bad shape. Samuel has now put down his burden; and it will be very heavy for us, because he carried the burden for thousands. He was an extremely hard worker. We won't be able to replace him. No. We can only fill the rank, with a hundred, with a thousand men.

"Samuel Napier was a servant of the people; he gave the supreme gift to the people. So therefore Samuel Napier was the Supreme Servant of the people".

On April 27, 1971, an individual allegedly affiliated with Federal Film Group reportedly contacted Subject and told Subject that a film made by the Angela Davis Defense Committee is being promoted by his group. The film company representative desired to enlist Subject's support for the film. Subject reportedly told the individual he does not wish to have anything to do with the film and indicated that [ ] had insulted him (Subject). Reportedly, Subject further stated that [ ] did not deserve his support and therefore he is not going to give it.

b6  
b7C

SF T-2  
April 27, 1971

SF 157-1203  
JLC/kle

[redacted] is a self-proclaimed member  
of the Communist Party. [redacted]

b6  
b7C

On April 26, 1971, Subject discussed the possibilities of obtaining an airplane to be used in connection with his travels. In that regard Subject stated that the plane could also be used for shipping the BPP newspaper to various cities in the United States. At that time Subject stated that in the future he plans to visit various states mentioning specifically Illinois, North Carolina, Texas and Louisiana. Subject also discussed the circulation of the BPP newspaper and noted that there had been a decline in its distribution. He hopes to build up the circulation for the BPP newspaper and in that connection is thinking of accepting advertisements from businesses which have contributed to the BPP and which have shown an interest in the party. Subject remarked that an article explaining the reason for the advertisement would be included in a forthcoming issue of the BPP newspaper.

SF T-6  
April 26, 1971

On April 27, 1971, Subject reportedly commented that "The Lumpen" is the "worst thing he has ever heard", and that he can sing better than any of them. After hearing that [redacted] is on restriction from the BPP, Subject commented that [redacted] "ought to be on double restriction".

SF T-4  
April 27, 1971

SF 157-1203  
JLC/kle

"The Lumpen" is publicly identified as a singing group made up of BPP members which has performed at various events in effort to obtain funds to benefit the BPP.

[redacted] is a former BPP member in Oakland who was [redacted]

b6  
b7C

On April 30, 1971, Subject reportedly asked [redacted] to write an article for a forthcoming issue of the BPP newspaper about the church's role in connection with the survival programs conducted by the BPP in the black communities. [redacted] indicated that he would write such article. At this time [redacted] informed Subject that a group of clergy would be meeting on the afternoon of May 8, 1971, and invited Subject to attend that meeting. Subject indicated he would.

SF T-2  
April 30, 1971

On May 1, 1971, Subject ordered that [redacted] is to be relieved of all his duties and is to be restricted to the BPP office. [redacted] was to be escorted to a BPP disciplinary court.

SF T-2  
May 1, 1971

[redacted] is a former BPP member in Oakland, California. He is currently residing in Canada.

On May 1, 1971, [redacted]

[redacted]

SF T-7  
May 2, 1971

SF 157-1203  
JLC/kle

On May 1, 1971, Subject was reportedly unhappy with [redacted] after Subject was informed that [redacted] had conducted an ideological class for BPP members on the morning of May 1, 1971, and had gotten the members very confused. Subject felt that [redacted] had confused the other members because he was attempting to discuss matters that he [redacted] did not understand and therefore should not have been attempting to discuss such matters. Subject indicated he might take some disciplinary action against [redacted] for creating the confusion among the BPP brothers and sisters.

b6  
b7C

SF T-6  
May 1, 1971

[redacted] is publicly identified  
as [redacted] for the BPP.

On May 12, 1971, when Subject was in New Haven, Connecticut, he attended the trial of [redacted] in Superior Court, New Haven, but did not participate in the trial in any way.

States Attorney  
ARNOLD MARKEE  
New Haven, Connecticut  
May 12, 1971

On May 17, 1971, after being informed that the BPP had received a letter from some people in Alabama who call themselves the "Revolutionary Farmers" and who wanted to furnish the BPP with food, Subject reportedly indicated interest in this proposal and that he would have someone contact those people further regarding their desire to aid the BPP.

SF T-4  
May 17, 1971



SF 157-1203  
JLC/kle

On May 17, 1971, telegrams bearing Subject's name as the sender were sent to attorneys in New York who had been defending BPP members in that city in connection with various criminal charges. The telegrams were congratulating the attorneys and the New York BPP members for their victory after they had been found not guilty.

SF T-4  
May 17, 1971

On May 17, 1971, Subject criticized [redacted] for permitting a photograph of HO CHI MINH, former President of North Vietnam, to be published in the May 15, 1971, issue of "The Black Panther". Subject allegedly explained to BROWN that such reporting showing support in that direction would be contradictory to the BPP's current ideology.

b6  
b7C

SF T-2  
May 17, 1971

[redacted] is publicly identified as the  
[redacted] of the BPP and  
current [redacted]

On May 17, 1971, Subject instructed that photographs of Chairman MAO TSE-TUNG of China and former President HO CHI MINH of North Vietnam are not to be published anymore in the BPP newspaper.

SF T-6  
May 17, 1971

Subject directed [redacted] and [redacted] to travel to New Haven, Connecticut, on the night of May 18, 1971, to participate in the vigil being held for BPP Chairman BOBBY SEALE.

SF T-2  
May 18, 1971

*CHLIF*

On May 19, 1971, Subject met with [redacted] in Oakland. [redacted] is reportedly the producer of the highly

SF 157-1203  
JLC/kle

b6  
b7C

publicized movie I Am Curious Yellow. At this meeting, [redacted] allegedly gave Subject a film of some sort. Details of the discussion between Subject and [redacted] are not known.

SF T-2  
May 19, 1971

On May 19, 1971, Subject spoke at a theological seminar being held in Berkeley, California. After that speech there was a great deal of confusion in the minds of the BPP members in Oakland as to the current BPP policy concerning its involvement with the church. Because of this Subject decided he would issue a statement to the press at an early date explaining the policy of the BPP and its involvement in church activities.

SF T-2  
May 20, 1971

The May 24, 1971, issue of the "San Francisco Chronicle", a daily San Francisco newspaper, contained an article by staff reporter TIM FINDLEY entitled "The Church and the Panthers". In this article Subject is quoted as saying that the BPP is relating to all institutions in the black community. He said the church is a very important institution in the black community and that the BPP is coming into the church just as its coming into other institutions in the black community. According to Subject, BPP involvement in black community institutions such as the church will probably result in them "modifying each other" but that the goals of the BPP remain unchanged.

On May 25, 1971, Subject made a statement to the press in Oakland, California, concerning the dismissal of charges against [redacted] and [redacted] in New Haven, Connecticut. Subject stated the BPP certainly would be glad to welcome [redacted] and [redacted] back among "us" but "we are not so foolish as to allow this compromise to

SF 157-1203  
JLC/kle

cloud are vision: [ ] and [ ] will be back among the people but they are not free . . . ." Subject credited their release to efforts of "the people and stated, "It is the power of the people and the people only to whom we will be thankful and the people in whom our faith rests for the future". The foregoing statement by Subject appeared in an article in the May 26, 1971, issue of the "San Francisco Chronicle".

b6  
b7C

[ ]

On May 24, 1971, Subject instructed that when BPP members go to church on Sunday they are to "look exactly like community people".

SF T-4  
May 24, 1971

On May 25, 1971, Subject reportedly stated that "eventually" the BPP will give publicity in the BPP newspaper to the businesses that donate to the BPP Community Programs.

On May 27, 1971, at 9 p.m. Subject was scheduled to meet with some doctors in Oakland and discuss the BPP's free health clinic with them.

SF T-6  
May 25, 1971

On May 26, 1971, after Subject was informed that [ ] would be arriving at San Francisco International Airport from New Haven, Connecticut, he instructed that there should be only five people from the BPP to meet her, that she should be taken directly to the residence of [ ] in Oakland, and that she was not to be

SF 157-1203  
JLC/kle

permitted to say anything to the press. Subject later changed his instructions concerning the number of BPP people who could go to the airport to meet [ ] and then said it was alright for all those members who wanted to go to her arrival. However, Subject specifically instructed that the people had to obey all the parking rules and all the other rules and regulations around the airport so as not to be arrested.

b6  
b7C

SF T-4  
May 26, 1971

[ ] On May 26, 1971, Subject instructed that [ ] arrival at San Francisco International Airport be filmed so the BPP can use the material in a future Party film.

SF T-2  
May 26, 1971

On May 28, 1971, Subject did not feel he should go to the San Francisco International Airport to greet BPP Chairman BOBBY SEALE because of the lack of security. A welcoming party would be held at the residence of BPP Attorney CHARLES R. GARRY in Daly City, California, for SEALE on the night of May 28, 1971, after his arrival and Subject would greet SEALE there.

SF T-4  
May 28, 1971

Subject directed that BOBBY SEALE's arrival on May 28, 1971, be recorded on film for use in a forthcoming BPP film.

When Subject learned that a [ ] from Waterbury, Connecticut, who was a juror in the [ ] trial, was in Oakland on May 28, 1971, [ ]



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JLC/kle

he instructed that she be lodged in a nice hotel. [redacted]  
[redacted] stayed at the Jack London Motel, one of  
Oakland's newest and best motels.

b6  
b7C

SF T-2  
May 28, 1971

On June 1, 1971, Subject was pondering the idea of installing pay telephones in the BPP offices in order to cut down the cost for long distance calls.

SF T-6  
June 1, 1971

BPP Chairman BOBBY SEALE reportedly is to share BPP speaking engagements with Subject and will assume some pending commitments of Subject. Subject has instructed SEALE that he is to charge \$1,500 plus three round trip airline tickets for speeches in California and \$2500 plus three round trip air tickets for speeches outside California. In addition two adjoining suites are to be provided for living accommodations. Further, Subject suggested to SEALE's secretary that when she is negotiating contracts for speeches she should start first with \$5,000 price tag and work down to the prior quoted figures as a minimum.

SF T-2  
June 3, 1971

On the afternoon of June 4, 1971, Subject and other BPP functionaries attended a screening of a film titled The Death of Fred Hampton, which was made for the BPP.

SF T-2  
June 4, 1971

On June 12, 1971, Subject directed that BPP members go to the Alameda County Courthouse, Oakland, where [redacted] was to appear for a parole hearing, rather than attend their regular political education class.

SF T-4  
June 12, 1971

SF 157-1203  
JLC/kle

On June 16, 1971, Subject was reportedly blaming himself for the recent conviction of [redacted] in Alameda County Superior Court on charges of assault and stated that he should have gotten [redacted] a different attorney.

b6  
b7C

Further, on June 16, 1971, Subject reportedly told [redacted] that [redacted] had better go with Subject on June 17, 1971, and get his hair cut as they must exhibit a clean-cut and neat appearance at all times.

SF T-6  
June 16, 1971

On the afternoon of June 21, 1971, Subject was to meet with a [redacted], not further identified, and [redacted] reportedly affiliated with Caribbean Black Nationalist in Canada. [redacted] and other individuals arrived at Subject's residence at the scheduled time but details concerning the purpose of the meeting are not known.

SF T-2  
June 21, 1971

SF T-4  
June 21, 1971

[redacted] also known as [redacted] is actively involved in Caribbean student organizations in Montreal, Canada. He is an active participant and speaker in Canadian black power demonstrations and is considered to be a prime agitator in the Montreal Negro community.

On June 25, 1971, New York City BPP Attorney [redacted] and [redacted] BPP Defense Committee from New York, arrived in Oakland to meet with Subject to discuss BPP funds.

SF T-4  
June 25, 1971

SF 157-1203  
JLC/kle

On June 29, 1971, Subject instructed that all available BPP members are to attend sessions of his trial at the Alameda County Courthouse, Oakland.

SF T-4  
June 29, 1971

July 14, 1971, when Subject was informed that 30,000 copies of the last edition of "The Black Panther" newspaper were left over, he could not understand why the members had not sold them. He was reminded that most of the "troops" had been attending sessions of his trial and he then reportedly instructed that the papers be given away to people in the community.

SF T-6  
July 14, 1971

On July 15, 1971, Subject reportedly asked BPP Chairman BOBBY SEALE how many welfare checks SEALE had collected from party members. Subject directed that the party members be reminded they are to turn their welfare checks over to the BPP for use by the party.

SF T-6  
July 15, 1971

SF 157-1203  
JLC/kle

B. Personal Appearances

1. Completed Appearances

- a. "Hot Line"  
Radio Station WVON  
Chicago, Illinois  
April 2, 1971

On April 2, 1971, SF T-8 advised that Subject was to appear that night on "Hot Line", a radio talk show, aired over station WVON, Chicago. WESLEY SOUTH is the moderator of "Hot Line".

On April 5, 1971, SF T-9 provided a transcript of "Hot Line", April 2, 1971. It is set forth as follows:



ANNOUNCER:

... program Hot Line are not necessarily those of the management of WVON or the participating sponsor. Hot Line. A program of public comment. A program where you voice your opinions and ask the questions of our Hot Line guests. And now, Wesley South and Hot Line.

WESLEY SOUTH:

Hi! Welcome back to a second edition or another edition of Hot Line. As we have been announcing for the last five days our guest tonight was supposed to have been Huey Newton, the commanding, one of the top... And we didn't get a chance to have you speak with him or ask him any questions, so again he's out, he hasn't gotten here. I'm assuming that he's in Chicago and Bobby Rush is with him. They're on their way and we would appreciate if they would get right over here. Unfortunately, we don't have anyone else here. We had a very good show lined up but when we were told that he would be here and they requested the time, we granted it to them and now we're left out here on, without a guest. So, you know what we do in a case like that. We, and we'll just have, isn't the first time that this happened. You know this is uh, maybe once or twice a month that someone will be late getting here. So what we'll do, we will have what we call our Grab Bag until our guest arrives and I might add that in the event that they come, only two will be allowed to come so, we, the rest of them can, if they want to stand around the building, that'll be fine. We had quite a congregation here the last time. Our telephone number is 591-5400, and tonight I'd like to suggest that we talk about two or three different things. One is the proposed black political party, a third political party that Mr., the Reverend Jesse Jackson has suggested that we, that

HUEY NEWTON:  
SOUTH:  
NEWTON:

he intends to head. You're, boy.  
Tell us what happened when you were  
here the last time, don't you're  
not on the air. (pause)

What, what happened. That's what  
I want to know about. You're, this  
is Huey Newton, okay, you're on the  
air now. How ya doin'?

Oh, just fine.

Why aren't ya here?

Oh, well, due to some circumstances  
beyond our control, I couldn't come  
over. So I thought that I would  
call you and perhaps converse for  
a little while. I can't stay the  
hour. But uh, I thought...

SOUTH:

Well, I tell you what. I asked you  
so many questions the last time,  
I will put you on hold and let you  
talk with some of the people, okay?  
Uh, I'm sorry, I can only talk for  
about fifteen minutes.

NEWTON:

SOUTH:

That'll be fine. Okay, we're gonna  
stop here for a moment.

NEWTON:

SOUTH:

I'm sorry I wasn't able to come down.  
Okay, I wish you'd of let us know  
beforehand.

NEWTON:

Yeah, well, I was tryin' ta make it  
until the last minute.

SOUTH:

Yeah, our telephone number 591-5400.

(commercial advertisement)

SOUTH:

And our telephone number 591-5400.  
We have Huey Newton on the line. He'll  
be able to talk with you. He says he'll  
be, only be available for fifteen minutes.  
And those are the only calls that we  
will entertain. If you have a comment,  
give us a call at 591-5400. And while  
we're waiting for the telephone to ring,  
I will ask you what are you doing in  
Chicago Huey, and how long will you be here  
I'll be herefor approximately a half a  
day tomorrow.

NEWTON:

SOUTH:

I see.

NEWTON:

SOUTH:  
NEWTON

SOUTH:

NEWTON:

SOUTH:

NEWTON:

SOUTH:

NEWTON:

SOUTH:

NEWTON:

SOUTH:

NEWTON:

SOUTH:

NEWTON:

SOUTH:

NEWTON:

I have an engagement at the University of Wisconsin.

Uh-huh.

And I leave immediately after to see about Bobby in Connecticut and also to attend my own court appearance in California.

I see. What about this, what we've been reading in the paper about the split between you and Eldridge Cleaver.

Uh, well, first of all that it's more paper than anything else, that I don't, the party doesn't recognize the split because the party's not split. Eldridge Cleaver defected, the party and the community and so did NCCF heads in New Jersey and the Harlem Branch.

We have approximately thirty eight chapters and branches and all are in tact. The party has not been split because we have a functioning political machine, and the people will see that the survival program is not diminishing but escalating.

Did you fire Eldridge Cleaver as was said in the paper...

I don't have the power to fire anyone...

But did you put him out of the organization, you have the...

No, the subcommittee is the only group with the power to expell.

I see. Okay, now, I see that our telephones are all available. Let's go right and see if any.

I would like to add that subcommittee...

Go right ahead.

... did decided that Eldridge Cleaver defected from the party. I had a private conversation with Eldridge after I arranged the Don Marsh (ph) Show.

Yes.

In California.

Uh-huh.

And I had Eldridge Cleaver hooked up to that program, in order to show the community that we were united. When I was in the penitentiary and after I was released, there was rumors going around that there was division. I knew nothing about a division even though I



talked to Eldridge Cleaver about once a week in Algiers. I didn't know anything about a contradiction until that Don Marsh Show where he chose that time to broadside the party and attempt to undermine the political campaign to free all political prisoners. We feel that's the real damage first causing disunity in the community and also undermining the campaign to free our chairman Bobby Seale, Ericka Huggins, Angela, (indiscernible), Michelle Mc Gee (ph) and all the other political prisoners, and I would like to say that the Black Panther Party is behind and we encourage the community to look into the conditions at Cook County Jail because we support all the brothers there and we're working for their liberation.

SOUTH: Okay, let's see what some of our listeners have to ask you. You're on the air. Do you have a question for Eldridge, for uh Huey Newton?

UNKNOWN MALE: Yes.

SOUTH: Go right ahead. Go right ahead.

UM: Hello. Huey.

NEWTON: Yeah.

UM: This is, I'm a community worker for the Illinois Chapter Black Panther Party.

NEWTON: Um-hum.

UM: And I just listen to what you was talking about.

NEWTON: Uh-huh.

UM: And we support, I support you personally myself. And I'm on the political prisoner committee, and gonna try ta do my best you know to see that them brothers get taken care of cause we was at Statesville last week, we're going to Pontiac (ph) tomorrow, Sunday.

NEWTON: That's beautiful.

UM: And we're gonna try (indiscernible).

NEWTON: Brother, I would like to say this that that's very beautiful that you called in, it's always good to talk to comrades and people from the community.



I wanna say keep up the good work and remember that words don't solve anything, that action is supreme. And that while we might not engage in the argument that Eldridge Cleaver wants to engage in.

UM:  
 NEWTON: Right on, Huey.  
 It will distract from our survival program. Now it's strange and it's not so strange after all that Eldridge Cleaver waited till he got to Algiers to talk so with so much courage and so much madness.

SOUTH: Now you think someone put a gun on him and made him speak that way or do you think he was just camouflaging his true feelings until he got there?

NEWTON: No, I think that it's just a matter of practicality that if he were really serious about doing anything, that he could very well broadcast it here because it might indict himself, you see. Indict himself with who?

SOUTH:  
 NEWTON: Pardon me.  
 SOUTH: With the party or with the nation or with the black people, or.

NEWTON: No, what I'm saying is that it was my understanding, and it's not a clear understanding of Eldridge Cleaver's problem.

SOUTH:  
 NEWTON: Uh-huh.  
 But it seems to me that he charged that the party, our survival program was a right wing program.

SOUTH:  
 NEWTON: I see.  
 And that the left wing that he pretends to represent is not concerned with health clinics and serving the people, they're concerned with making revolution... Did he say that?

SOUTH:  
 NEWTON: And revolution to him is actions or absolute, in other words the particular set of personal action would be revolutionary. He doesn't realize revolution is a process and not a set of conditions or principles or anything could be revolutionary at a particular time to mobilize the people.

SOUTH: Okay.

NEWTON:

And as far as what he said, I don't wanna interpret the, what I gather from your radio programs and the papers that I interpret to have conversation with Eldridge before the Don Marsh Show and apparently we didn't, we couldn't get clear understanding. You been here for seven minutes and we'd like to get another call in here if we can, okay?

SOUTH:

NEWTON:

SOUTH:

Alright, go ahead.

Telephone number 591-5400, you're on the air, may we have your question for Huey Newton.

UM:

I'd like to talk to Huey P. Newton about...

SOUTH:

Go right ahead.

UM:

I'd like to talk to Huey P....

SOUTH:

Go right ahead.

NEWTON:

Hello. How'ya doin' comrade brother?

UM:

I'd like to talk to Huey P. Newton.

SOUTH:

He's there, would you go right ahead and turn off your radio please?

UM:

Okay, wait a minute.

SOUTH:

Hello.

UM:

Hello, I'd like to talk to Huey P.- P. Newton about the recent statement by Mayor Daley about land being for sale and.

SOUTH:

What being for sale?

UM:

Land.

SOUTH:

Land being for sale.

UM:

Right. And certain time that certain person have to, not certain person, but individual have to pay off for this land.

SOUTH:

What you mean?

UM:

And, uh...

SOUTH:

Why, why did this come up. You said certain...

UM:

This was in today's paper. And I think it was in last week, week before last.

SOUTH:

Well, did you read it Huey?

UM:

Right.

NEWTON:

No, I'm not familiar with it.

SOUTH: So, there's very little you can say about that, is there?

NEWTON: Uh, well I don't understand.

SOUTH: I don't either, but he says...

UM: Well, as I understand it, as I come from, the only reason why I (indiscernible) is because of land, not because of people. The land replenish itself and people replenish itself. And as I have understand it is that Mayor Daley had said and I quote land will be for sale but you have a long time for, you know, to pay off for everything and everything.

SOUTH: Okay, thank you for your call. Our telephone number 591-5400, you're on the air, may we have your comment please, make it...

UM: (indiscernible).

SOUTH: No I didn't.

UNKNOWN FEMALE: Hello.

SOUTH: Yes, you're on the air, may we have your question?

UF: Uh listen, I'd like to know, I am the mother of five children.

SOUTH: Yes.

UF: And we have a home (indiscernible) but the father (indiscernible) he disowned, you know, and I would like, you say talk about the problem, any kind of problem that you may have, and I would like to (indiscernible) why did the men go up and disown, the black man go up and disown his children so that the so that the mother have to get on to the city and depend... Get on welfare is what you're saying.

SOUTH: Right.

UF: Uh-huh. Well, you want to comment on that Huey?

SOUTH: Uh, well all I can say is that it seems that a man who would do such a thing has lost a certain amount of confidence and dignity and is probably because of a very oppressive situation that...

NEWTON: Um-hum.

SOUTH: ... blacks have lived in for such a long time but the party would like to change

NEWTON:



all that so that everyone in our community, in the black community, will have all of the necessities and be able to enjoy the kind of life that such an affluent society and the world is so technologically developed can give.

SOUTH:

Okay, thank you for comment. Our telephone number 591-5400. We have Huey Newton on the phone. He can only stay here just a few more minutes. We stop here now for a message. Our telephone number 591-5400.

(commercial advertisement)

SOUTH:

And our telephone number, 591-5400. You're on the air. May we have your question for Huey Newton?

UM:

Yes, I would like to know since the December 4 raid on the party headquarters, what has happened to the party? Has it effected the party's activities?

NEWTON:

Repression effects all our activities but we are still open and we have the health clinic functioning here in Chicago and clothing program and our survival program is expanding because as repression escalates, it means that we have to do more to survive and create more programs and...

SOUTH:

Has it effected you in any way, the membership, the recruitment, the selling of the papers?

NEWTON:

Yes, that we've, we've gained more membership and our paper sales are increased because the community condemns that kind of action, the repressive action of the established order.

SOUTH:

Uh-huh.

NEWTON:

And when we suffer repression, it breeds resistance. Also it mobilizes the people in the direction towards freedom, because they realize to do nothing would be suicidal.

SOUTH:

Okay, thank you for your comment. Our telephone number 591-5400. You're on the air, may we have your question?



UM: Yes.  
 SOUTH: Go right ahead.  
 UM: Uh, yes. Uh just a minute. I'd like to ask Huey Newton about the Black Panther Party.  
 SOUTH: Go right ahead.  
 UM: Beg your pardon?  
 SOUTH: Yes, go right ahead. Ask the question.  
 UM: Uh, yes, I'd like to ask about the Black Party, Black Party.  
 SOUTH: Black Panther Party.  
 UM: Uh is this uh, is this uh.  
 SOUTH: You're on the air. Go right ahead sir.  
 NEWTON: Hello, I'm listening brother.  
 UM: Oh yes, I'd like to, I'd like to ask you about the Black Party, uh Panther split. Has it effected the party at all?  
 SOUTH: The split he's saying. He had said later that it was not a split. That Eldridge Cleaver had defected and that I think he says he took two or three chapters with him. Was that right Huey?  
 NEWTON: Uh, no one branch in Harlem and the NCC heads in New Jersey.  
 SOUTH: Yeah, two of them.  
 NEWTON: Two. And one of the reasons for the defection was because Eldridge Cleaver was after the lead for mass movement. There seems to be many leaders...  
 SOUTH: Yes, you were telling us, but has it effected your activities at all?  
 NEWTON: Well, everything effects the activities...  
 SOUTH: Adversely or conversely?  
 NEWTON: Both. Both the positive and the negative effect.  
 SOUTH: How did it effect it negatively?

NEWTON:

Uh negatively it caused amount of questions and perhaps even a credibility gap in the community.

SOUTH:

Uh-huh.

NEWTON:

It confused the community. But that's beside the point.

UM:

(indiscernible)

NEWTON:

Pardon me.

SOUTH:

Let him finish.

UM:

Also, about this recent article they had in the Jet (ph) magazine about Huey Newton about his wife, Eldridge Cleaver's wife being captive in Algiers and he was telling (indiscernible) he just want to be dealt with. Have you read that article?

NEWTON:

I read the article. What was the last part of the question?

UM:

About his wife being captive in, he held his wife captive in Algiers and he, and his- I mean uh Algiers wait a minute, Cleaver's wife gonna, had his community secretary with him said that he'll meet, and, his other party maybe here will be dealt with. Have you all read that?

NEWTON:

Did we read, I- I don't understand. I read the article where Kathleen Cleaver is held prisoner...

UM:

That's right.

NEWTON:

in Algiers

SOUTH:

And then you were supposed to have said that Eldridge Cleaver will be dealt with, is this right or is it incorrect.

NEWTON:

I don't believe that I said it, but I will say that all those who let the community down will be dealt with by the community at the.

SOUTH:

What about by the party.

NEWTON:

Pardon me.

SOUTH:

What about being dealt with by the party?

NEWTON:

The party is only the people's-, I always said that we don't ever do anything other than interpret the people's will but, interpret the people's will, but they are responsible for all activities,

especially activities of the political, otherwise it's an elite action, it doesn't deserve the title of a political act.

UM:  
 NEWTON: Alright.  
 SOUTH: I was saying the negative side of the  
 NEWTON: tendency and the so-called split.  
 SOUTH: Yes.  
 NEWTON: Or defection, I never, I didn't get a  
 SOUTH: chance to speak of the positive side.  
 NEWTON: That's right.  
 SOUTH: On the positive side I think outweighs  
 NEWTON: the negative because I think that the  
 SOUTH: Black Panther Party defected the  
 NEWTON: community a few years ago shortly after  
 SOUTH: I went to prison because we became  
 NEWTON: somewhat alienated because under the...  
 SOUTH: Alienated by, to whom, who was  
 NEWTON: alienated from you?  
 SOUTH: I think that the community, while we  
 NEWTON: still enjoyed our programs would not  
 SOUTH: follow the kind of absolutist  
 NEWTON: rhetoric of Eldridge Cleaver.  
 SOUTH: Are they following it now, are they  
 NEWTON: following your, are they following  
 SOUTH: your rhetoric?  
 NEWTON: I don't speak in rhetoric.  
 SOUTH: Well are, you're speaking at all,  
 NEWTON: you'll be speaking tomorrow, and you'd  
 SOUTH: spoken. Do people follow you?  
 NEWTON: Pardon me.  
 SOUTH: Do people follow you at all?  
 NEWTON: Well, I should hope they don't follow.  
 SOUTH: I hope they're more concerned with  
 NEWTON: the survival programs that we have  
 SOUTH: in about thirty states. We're not  
 NEWTON: interested in rhetoric and we're not  
 SOUTH: interested in fancy phrases. We're  
 NEWTON: interested in building a community  
 SOUTH: program.  
 SOUTH: But the only way the people will know  
 it is that you'll have to speak it,  
 you'll have to speak out, otherwise  
 they won't, you just can't stand  
 there. It's not a vacuum, you have  
 to talk.



NEWTON:

I think that when you put your political program and your community into action that it speaks for itself.

UM:

Mr. South.

SOUTH:

Yes.

UM:

I'd like to ask another question also.

SOUTH:

Very briefly.

UM:

I have often heard that the Black Panther Party has gone underground with their activities because of so many of their members being offed by the pigs. Is this also true?

NEWTON:

The Black Panther Party is not going underground. I don't know about Eldridge Cleaver and his clique, but as far as we're concerned, we're working to free political prisoners, to feed the community and to develop the comprehensive collection of institutions.

SOUTH:

I didn't get that last word, that last phrase you said, about institutions.

NEWTON:

We're attempting to develop a comprehensive collection of institutions... What does that mean?

SOUTH:

NEWTON:

... that will serve the people. In other words, a collection of stable institutions, a number of them, we say comprehensive because they serve...

SOUTH:

I mean...

NEWTON:

Different purposes.

SOUTH:

Can you speak in our terms.

NEWTON:

Pardon me.

SOUTH:

Can you speak in terms that we can understand?

NEWTON:

You understand, I mean that communities made up of things that serve the people such as the health clinics.

SOUTH:

Oh yes.

NEWTON:

Such as food programs, such as schools.

SOUTH:

I follow you.

NEWTON:

Clothing distribution, such as (indiscernible). These things together make up a community. Blacks were stripped of their community when were brought here chained and not only were we stripped of a community, we were stripped of a family, the woman spoke of the family being divided.



SOUTH:  
NEWTON:

SOUTH:

UF:

SOUTH:  
UF:

NEWTON:

Yeah.

I think this is historical because of the division that the slavemaster caused. Now, it's our job to build up the community so the community then can, the people then can express their revolutionary desires through those agencies.

Okay, thanks for your call sir. Telephone number 591-5400. You're on the air, may we have your comment please? Your question?

Hello, I would like to ask, I would like to talk to Huey.

Go right ahead, he's listening.

I would like to know has there been any effort by the members of the Black Panther Party you known to like influence gang members to join you know, to help the community instead of tearing down.

Well, you know comrade sister, I really enjoyed talking to you but I hate you know talk programs on the radio because they always cut you off and the announcer cuts me off because of the time limit. It's not anything hostile. I'm sure you understand, but it's just that the time when I called in I said I only had fifteen minutes, but that doesn't mean I wanna spend half a second talking to each person. Now as I was saying that the party direction now will have new enthusiasm because at one point that we had the we truly had the will and the enthusiasm all over the community. But after some members of the party, Eldridge Cleaver in particular, thought that the community, each person would have to pick up a gun tomorrow in order to join the party people started to get afraid. And we say we'll do anything the people want, but we don't denounce the gun, but

UF:  
SOUTH:

UF:  
SOUTH:

UF:  
SOUTH:  
UF:

NEWTON:

SOUTH:

NEWTON?:

at the same time we say that we are in service to the people and we will only do that when they want us to and we'll do it together, because we can't make any revolution, only they can, so we're concerned with not only the gangs, we're concerned with the problems in the community such as the narcotics problem, we concerned with health problem, the food problem, the education problem. We're concerned with survival pending revolution. And this will be the new old direction, so I'll see you in the community, thanks for calling. Okay, bye-bye.

Okay, telephone number 591-5400. This the Hot Line. Hello.

Yes.

Have you a question for Huey Newton?

Yes I do.

Go right ahead.

I'd like to know if he thinks the Black Panther Party is as strong as it was before and if they had any new plans.

I think that the Black Panther Party will mobilize the people even in a greater, with a greater momentum than before. I think at one point that we had even more of...

Uh before, could you hold on just a moment while I ask the lady to turn off her radio. It seems that we're getting some feedback and they can't hear you. Okay, ma'am will you turn off your radio please? Alright, now go right ahead. Would you continue?

I think that the party at one point was bashful because we had the kind of absolute thinking of some individuals now left the party, which causes certain other contradictions and

confusions. But we're in service to the community, now we'll support any program. We might even endorse certain administrators providing that they be willing to fight in behalf of the people if the people demand this out of the party. But we're a stable, structural political machine and we'll act like that as the people's advocate to get out information and to canvass the community to also give guidance. So I think there was a high point, a low point and we're on the rise again.

SOUTH:

UF:

NEWTON:

That answer your question ma'am? Yes, and I'd also like to know if he plans to write a book.

Yes, I'm writing a book now and I should have it finished in about two months, and if you give me your name and address, I'll send you a copy.

UF:

SOUTH:

Oh.

Alright, you're off the air now go, give him your name and address and nobody'll hear it. Go right ahead ma'am. Go right ahead. You want me to open the mi-. You want me to open it? Okay, go right, give him the name and address. Yes. Uh-huh. Yes. And the address. Yes. Yeah, okay.

NEWTON:

Now, what is your last name? Alright Thank you.

UF:

SOUTH:

Um-hum.

Okay, telephone number 591-5400, you're on the air, may we have your question please? Hello. Hello. Yes, would you ask Huey Newton your question please. Yes.

UM:

I would like to ask Mr. Newton, do he, about these gang fights, does he think that we should break down on them, you know.

SOUTH:

Break down on them, you mean.



UM:

NEWTON:

All of them shooting each other and stuff like that.

Yeah, the community should put an end to all of the negative things that hurt us and the community, and we could only do this through uniting together, but we will not go on any campaign and joining the oppressor and stating our problem the oppressor created in the first place so, but we cannot solve these problems by fighting each other, and this is why that it's tragic to have the kind of problem that we had in the party but I think the problem was blown out of proportion because the press wanted something to see, in order to say that the party is splintered. But the very fact that I'm here in Chicago, the brother from the Illinois Chapter called and I'll very happy if brothers and sisters call from all of our chapters if they're listening even though I won't be on for but a couple of seconds. But call in anyway and let the people know that we're still together and that while our program is much more larger than it was say three years ago that the press pretends that it doesn't exist, but they always say that we didn't have a program to start with. Is it larger than it was last year,, Huey?

SOUTH:

NEWTON:

SOUTH:

Of course.

Now you said three years ago but I didn't know whether it was larger than it was a year ago.

NEWTON:

I say it was larger than it was a year ago, but then we didn't even have shoe, a shoe factory but we just opened up a free shoe factory in California, but we - we're capable of putting out about fifty pair of free shoes a week, and we--we just opened up a new health clinic in Berkeley where Dr. Small (ph) is the physician.



SOUTH:

NEWTON:

SOUTH:

NEWTON:

SOUTH:

NEWTON:

SOUTH:

NEWTON:

SOUTH:

NEWTON:

SOUTH:

NEWTON:

SOUTH:

Are you in a position to say how many health clinics you have across the country?

Oh.

Approximately.

Approximately how many health clinics do we have across the country? Do you know how many? About twenty.

About twenty.

About twenty health clinics. And the one here in Chicago has about twelve medical rooms. And we're developing a dental clinic inside of it. And it's very used by the people and the people love and it's not only a medical center, it's an educational center.

Like to ask you one question before you leave, you know you were saying the press is blowing the split or the defection as you refer to it of Eldridge Cleaver all out of proportion, wasn't, er was he one of the original founders of the Black Panther Party?

No, I recruited him. Shortly after he got out of prison.

Was he one of the first in that?

No, there were many people before him. Did he hold some top office in the party.

Yes, he was appointed to the Minister of Information, which was a part of the Central Committee.

The reason I say it because he was well known around the country, he was in office, is in office, and he was at that time there didn't seem to be any split and I would imagine with all of the furor that he had raised and that which you appeared to have sanctioned, I'd never heard you talk about him before, that when he did as you say defect and the paper picked it up, as did this station, and other, even some of the black papers and black periodicals, then you said that it was, you say it's not very important. It's rather...

NEWTON:

SOUTH:  
NEWTON:

SOUTH:  
NEWTON:

SOUTH:  
NEWTON:

SOUTH:  
NEWTON:

SOUTH:

NEWTON:

SOUTH:  
NEWTON:  
SOUTH:

What, I never said it was unimportant,  
I said that it was...

All blown out of proportion.

The paper takes and blows it apart  
everything.

Blown out of proportion.

Oh, of course it was, because it was  
blown out of proportion because  
the first the press says there was  
a split, now what is the definition of  
a split? Did he take ten chapters or  
fifteen chapters? Did he split the  
Central Committee? Exactly what did  
happen?

Uh-huh.

Now if he left and took one NCC head  
and a branch, is that a split?

And after taking that he didn't take  
any programs with him, did the paper  
stop coming out one week? No. Did  
any office close as far as the medical  
center or a clothing center, or a  
bussing program. No, because, the  
people left didn't have that to start  
with. The party is one, and as  
Bobby Seale says that he is the  
chairman of only one party. So  
whatever that other thing is, it's a  
creation of your radio station and other  
press agencies, whether it's black or  
white.

Um-hum.

And all of the news mongers like  
sensation, is that correct?

Uh, as you know, that sells papers  
where talking about boy scouts will  
not sell papers.

Yeah, I say you're interested in  
selling papers and people listening and  
not interested in building the community.

Now I wouldn't say...

All blacks including blacks...

I wouldn't agree with you there. I  
think that most of the people who listen  
to this station like myself are interested  
in building the community. I can't  
let you get away with that.

NEWTON:  
SOUTH:

NEWTON:  
SOUTH:

NEWTON:  
SOUTH:

NEWTON:  
SOUTH:

NEWTON:

SOUTH:

NEWTON:

SOUTH:  
NEWTON:  
SOUTH:

NEWTON:

SOUTH:

NEWTON:

SOUTH:

Well I'm glad to hear you say that...  
Well, I'm glad to hear you say it, and  
to agree with it.

Pardon me.

I say I'm glad to hear you say it and  
agree with it.

I- I'm glad to...

I don't know whether the people,  
whether they're interested in whether  
you're glad or not glad.

Pardon me.

I said I don't know whether the people  
who are listening are glad or not  
glad whether you're glad. But at  
least they are, there are many people  
out here who's doing precisely what  
you're saying that you're doing and  
they may not be getting the same  
publicity that you're getting and  
they've been doing it for years.

I'm trying that, I'm given much too  
much publicity. They should give  
more publicity to the Breakfast  
Program and the Health Program because  
after all, I- I'm just an ex-convict,  
not even that, I'm a convict on bail  
and I would like to thank them...

There're lot of us out here who are  
convicts.

... for delivering me from the  
gas chamber. Just before I got  
there. So the people are the real  
heroes.

And a lot of people didn't make it.  
Certainly you're not the hero and...  
Lot of people had to go to the  
gas chamber.

... I'm not the hero. So let's  
not be arrogant about that.

Hey, we got about eleven minutes, can  
you stick another eleven minutes?

Uh, I can stick around for one more  
question from the people.

Okay, hold on. Our telephone  
number 591-5400, you're on the air,  
may we have your comment please, or  
your question.

UM:  
SOUTH:  
UM:  
SOUTH:  
UM:

NEWTON:  
UM:

NEWTON:  
UM:

NEWTON:  
UM:

NEWTON:

Yes sir, Mr. South.

Yes.

Uh, could I speak to Mr. Newton?

Yeah, he's listening, go right ahead.

Uh, Mr. Newton, I'm a Panther on the north side, and uh, I have a cousin named Bobo Thompson (ph) live (indiscernible) and you might remember about a week ago, the police broke in the house out there (indiscernible) and raided the place you know and bust in shooting like Mark Clark you know.

Yeah, right.

And they shot him in the elbow and the bullet ricocheted off his elbow and hit him in the stomach. And they they beat all the mens (ph) y'know, unmercifully, you know.

Yeah, right.

And they told all the peoples in the neighborhood don't get in the windows and stuff like that. And they took him out the back door which while he was laying on the ground, they stomp, beat and kicked him in the face and everything, you know.

Yeah, right.

And they took him to the County, they handcuffed him and it was about three days before they even let his mother see him, you know. And I was wondering, you know, you know some type experience about this here, what what could we do, you know, cause this is my cousin, you know, and I'm really serious, you know, because this is a hurting thing you know.

Uh, you know, the only thing that we could really do is just concentrating on organizing our community so that we can oust all foreign intruders.

Those people who hang around our community attempt to control them yet have no real true respect or interest in our community or the people who live there, so, of course on individual cases, I say individual cases I mean



individual atrocities because no case is really individual. We have to stand and draw a line someplace and once we do this, then we can start setting those examples. It'll be necessary to stop the kind of action that we suffer, we been suffering actually about 400 years.

UM: Right, the man said well you need to die, you know, and stuff like that because he's an instigator because he speak his mind and and he just express the way he feel you know, and this is a brother cop that did it you, know.

NEWTON: Yeah, right. Well you know when they put that uniform on, it's all you know whatever color that that oppressor wears, you know, in California and Oakland it's blue you know.

UM: Uh-huh.

NEWTON: Over here I think it's gray, isn't. Is it blue here too? Uh Bob Rush just told me it's blue here too, you see. So uh not matter whether it's blue, green or gray, once they put that uniform on, they're dedicated to taking orders from their boss. Mayor Daley here and the States Attorney who killed Mark Clark and Fred Hampton and all the vicious police dogs, see. So we know exactly who the enemy is, we know that these police (indiscernible) they serve Daley and all of...

SOUTH: Do you feel that there are any dedicated policemen in the gr-, in the ranks?

NEWTON: Uh, why don't you tell us, is there?

SOUTH: I'm asking you.

NEWTON: I'm asking you. You said that you want to serve the people.

SOUTH: I said I'm asking, do you, are you saying when once they put the blue uniform on...

NEWTON: I asked a question, you answer...

SOUTH: And I was asking if you felt that they all, if they...

NEWTON:

I'm not afraid to answer but you are, because you don't want the people to cite you as the people's enemy.

SOUTH:

In other words,,you don't- you don't care to answer that question.

NEWTON:

No, do you care to answer?

SOUTH:

I know of a person by the name of Renault Robinson(ph), I can name you a dozen that don't fall into that category.

NEWTON:

Uh, how 'bout Gloves (ph), does he fall into that category.

SOUTH:

He certainly does, and I said so here.

NEWTON:

Well, uh, of course...

SOUTH:

So then you do, you will answer then, huh?

NEWTON:

Whatever position you take, in my experiences and maybe they're different from yours, that I have ever come in contact with a police agency that was fair to the people. Now if you have, then you know you just have to take that up with the community.

SOUTH:

In other words, you won't say whether all policemen are in that category or not.

NEWTON:

I just said that I could just talk about my experiences. I said that I had been in the pen-, I stayed three years in the penitentiary before that that I've had much contact with police agencies of various kinds and that they never treated me fairly and I have witnesses, I have witnessed many atrocious kind of actions.

SOUTH:

I have too.

NEWTON:

So I'm saying that I can only tell you my personal experience.

SOUTH:

Issee, but I thought possibly...

NEWTON:

You said that...

SOUTH:

I though possibly you had in your getting around, you heard some of your brothers say that there were some who were outstanding, who...

NEWTON:  
SOUTH:

I just heard you say it.  
Well, I thought maybe some of the other fellows in your organization, I'm not a member of the organization, I thought possibly someone in your organization had said that, I'm surprised that after all these years that you hadn't heard that at all. You the first brother I've ever heard, but I'm always...

NEWTON:

SOUTH:

Oh, you know I'm not the first one, no.

NEWTON:

SOUTH:

What?

You say I'm the first one you ever heard that said what?

NEWTON:

First brother to say that the police are good.

SOUTH:

No, you not, now you, I have said, and you're not, you're not gonna put that in my mouth. You know better than that. I said that there are some good ones. And I ask you if you knew of any. And I named one, and I named one that was not. You called one and I agreed when you said that he's not.

NEWTON:

(indiscernible).

SOUTH:

I didn't hear you.

NEWTON:

I said (indiscernible) see if they shoot you before you get to the fence.

SOUTH:

I see. That sounds good.

NEWTON:

Alright?

SOUTH:

I mean that sounds good. I don't believe, I don't believe you know Robinson would do that.

NEWTON:

Well, I, I...

SOUTH:

And I'll tell you another thing, I don't believe that the fellows who are in there with you think the same thing either. And you could ask them right there.

NEWTON:

Well, see I, I don't I don't know Renault Robinson and I just gave you an honest judgment, you see, and the judgment's based upon my personal experience.

SOUTH:  
NEWTON:  
SOUTH:  
NEWTON:

Yeah, I, I accept that.  
Alright.

Our telephone number 591-  
I- I'm gonna have ta go now, but  
I'd like to tell the people power to  
the people and I hope to come to your  
studio...

SOUTH:

Would you like to talk about the  
Calley, say what about the er  
Lieutenant Calley. Would you like to  
comment on that. His conviction.

NEWTON:  
SOUTH:

Well, listen. Hello.  
Yeah, I say would you like to comment on  
Lieutenant Calley's conviction?

NEWTON:

Uh I just got some information about  
brother Renault who was fired, he was  
fired from the police department, right?  
No, he was suspended from the police  
department.

SOUTH:

Oh, he wasn't fired?

NEWTON:  
SOUTH:  
NEWTON:  
SOUTH:  
NEWTON:  
SOUTH:  
NEWTON:

Yeah.

Uh, is he back on now?

He will be next month.

Is that right?

Yeah.

Well I just heard some favorable  
things about him, and that I would like  
to say that while I haven't met him,  
perhaps that he's giving a new face to  
the whole thing. And if the community  
appreciates him, I certainly do. And  
as I said, that I just heard some  
favorable things about him. And  
we are to support anyone who is  
really interested in our community, see.  
And I don't mean to, I never am  
really absolute about things, but  
nor am I hasty to draw a conclusion if  
I know nothing about it as far my  
exper, my experiences are concerned.  
So I'm gonna have to sign off but I  
thank you for letting me have the  
time on your air.

SOUTH:

I'd like to hear from, uh have you  
nothing to say about Lieutenant  
Calley's conviction then have you?



NEWTON:

I think that Calley is a scapegoat. I think that he's used to ease the conscience of the American ruling circle and President Nixon and all of his fascist generals and the fact is this man will make a profit by the whole thing in military contracts and so forth. So while he might have killed many many Vietnamese people, but consider the B-52s that kill many many children and women and destroyed villages and communities. So not only Calley should be on trial but the whole American reactionary system should be on trial. And I'll tell you that the Black Panther Party here is here to try that system. So power to the people then brother and I'll call you on my return. I will, I will also like to tell the community that the free bus will be leaving Sunday at 4233 Indiana Street at 9:30. And it will be going to Madison and it will go to Pontiac and go to Dwight prison this week. This is the bus for relatives, loved ones and of prisoners and we invite the community to come and take advantage because prisoners need people to visit them. It's about the only communication that we have and I say we because I still feel the prisoner as long as a brothers at Cook County Jail, our chairman is in jail in Connecticut and Ericka is there in jail and Angela, so as long as those brothers and sisters in prison and I'm in prison also, and let's go and see them, alright. Okay, thank- thank your for calling. Thank you.

SOUTH:  
NEWTON:  
SOUTH:

And that ladies and gentlemen was Huey P. Newton, the commander of the Black Panther Party, who's in Chicago here, he'll be leaving here tomorrow, he'll be at a meeting tomorrow, he says he'll be here for another half day. We're gonna stop here for a message.

SF 157-1203  
JLC/kle

- b. "Kup's Show"  
WMAQ-TV, NBC,  
Chicago, Illinois  
April 10, 1971

On April 2, 1971, SF T-8 advised that Subject participated that date in a taped interview at NBC studios, Chicago. The interview was on "Kup's Show", a television talk program moderated by IRVING KUPCINET, a Chicago television and newspaper personality. The program is to be televised at a future, unknown date.

On April 16, 1971, SF T-9 provided the following taped recording of Subject's appearance on April 10, 1971, over WMAQ-TV, NBC, Chicago, on "Kup's Show".

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Irv Kupcinet

"How do you do and welcome to the Lively Art of Conversation. This show is unrehearsed and the conversation is uninhibited and I'm Irv Kupcinet. I'd like to take just a moment to extend the holiday greetings this weekend which combine both Easter and Passover. Among the guests will be Huey Newton one of the most controversial figures on the scene today and one of the leaders of the Black Panthers, Marvin Aspen, Legal Officer for the Cook County Sheriff and co-author of the Crim. --- of the book Criminal Law for the Layman. Another guest will be J.A. Parker a spokesman for the Young Americans for Freedom."

"Now let me introduce one of the most controversial figures on the American scene today. This is Huey Newton. Mr. Newton is the Minister of Defense for the Black Panther Party, one of the organizer's of that Party and this is Marvin Aspen, Legal Officer for the Cook County Sheriff and co-author of a book called, 'The Criminal Law for the Layman' and from Washington, D.C., J. A. Parker, a leading spokesman for the Young Americans for Freedom. Welcome gentlemen. Huey, if I may call you Huey, tell me what is the goal of the of the Black Panthers -- there's there's so much contradiction and confusion I think about what the real goals are for the Black Panthers, perhaps briefly you could cite what your aims are."

Huey Newton

"I don't know how briefly but I'll try to be a brief I'm rather long winded. The Black Panther Party was organized in 1966 about October and it was organized around a Ten Point Program, and within the program we're very concerned about developing a black community that was stripped away from us after the conquest of the mother country, Africa. The family was disbursed and generally the concept of community was destroyed as far as we were concerned. Now at this late date some 400 years later we find our black people living mostly together concentrated in various urban areas in the city as well as a large



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population of blacks in the south but all of these areas where we blacks live have one thing in common, a most oppressed area, the housing is very poor and sub-standard, the medical care is below standard considering the advancements in medicine and as far as the advantages of living in the country thats supposed to be so very affluent and so fair and Democratic we see the blacks do not benefit by these advancements even if..... "

Kupcinet interrupts Newton

"So far everything you say is what every other good black organization wants for their fellow blacks is it not? To improve the lot of the black man in this country. Now you have been identified so much with communism, Maoist communism branch of communism, is this the means by which you hope to bring about this kind of a change?"

Huey Newton

"It's impossible to import a particular kind of movement from one community to the other. When I speak of community now I'm speaking of geographical location thats commonly called nation. I view the world now as a (inaudible) collection of communities. Each community has its particular problems and it has to be dealt with in a way that is appropriate. (Inaudible) will grasp the imagination of the people and mobilize them in the direction towards freedom. The Black Panther Party is dedicated to analyzing the problem in the most scientific way and in the most objective way so that eventually we can act in our own most subjective interests."

Irv Kupcinet

"Thats a very calm and sort of a peace like proposal your putting forth but yet the Black Panthers have been identified with violence and Hilliard one of your spokesmen said we must have an armed revolution in this country and Eldridge Cleaver I think believes in a form of violence which he deems. You would like you get away from violence is that a...an accurate portrayal?"



HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Huey Newton

"The Black Panther Party was always dedicated to the abolition of violence, war and the gun. We use some statements from Chairman Mao and also from (Inaudible two names) Patrice Lumumba (phonetic) and Marcus Garvey (phonetic). We use many statements if they are appropriate, and if they are similar and fit our need."

Irv Kupcinet

"You mean your rhetoric is worse than your action?"

Huey Newton

"I think the oppressors action is worse than can be described. And this is what I'm getting at...."

Irv Kupcinet (interrupts)

"I'm talking about your own rhetoric though."

Huey Newton

"We have a motto which says we're advocates of the abolition of war. Although sometimes war can only be abolished through war in order to get rid of the gun it becomes necessary to take up the gun. This statement is clearly not dedicated to armament but what it is dedicated to is to the elimination of (inaudible). In other words I think that one being an American would be very arrogant, very racist, and very unfair to say that the Vietnamese are dedicated to violence, the Vietnamese..."

Irv Kupcinet (interrupts)

"Which Vietnamese are you talking about the South or the North?"

Huey Newton

"No I'm talking about the Vietnamese in both

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the south and the north who are fighting to oust the foreign intruder which happens to be the American aggressor, the fascist."

Irv Kupcinet

"Well I don't think your facts are correct there, are they? Do you think the south Vietnamese is fighting to kick the Americans out of Vietnam?"

Huey Newton

"Of course, the provisional revolutionary government is located in the south not the north."

Irv Kupcinet

"Your talking about the Viet Cong."

Huey Newton

"Wait a minute I'm talking about Vietnamese people. They call us Niggers they call them Cong you see, I call them Vietnamese people because I've never heard them call themselves Cong."

Irv Kupcinet

"Well the VC is not a derogatory term."

Huey Newton

"Well, Viet Cong is derogatory to the Vietnamese as he calls himself the Vietnamese."

Irv Kupcinet

"I never heard, I never heard it being derogatory but thats besides the point but you must admit there are a lot of south Vietnamese fighting on the (inaudible) of the American."

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Huey Newton

"Have you ever heard the South Vietnamese call himself a Viet Cong?"

Irv Kupcinet

"I can't say I have and I can't say I haven't... I don't know. The term is used commonly."

Huey Newton

"Well then you should investigate because you could learn something..."

Irv Kupcinet

"You may be right. I don't think its an important point."

Huey Newton

"Anyway, anyway, I'm saying that just as the Vietnamese are oppressed by a police action because the President said long ago that theres no war going on in Vietnam its the police action just as we had in Korea some years ago. There's also a police action going on in our community and we feel that we must defend ourselves from that kind of aggression."

Irv Kupcinet

"You mean all the violence from the Black Panthers is a reaction to the police action is that what you're saying?"

Huey Newton

"Well the victim is never violent. The victim can only use self-defense. Aggression is related to violence. We must understand the difference between the self defense of the victim and the violence of the aggressor, so I charge the United States ruling circle. I charge Mayor Daley and a his vicious police dogs who killed Fred



HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Hampton and Marv Clark right here in Chicago. I charge them with violence. And also the Grand Jury charged them with violence I believe, so, I can't very well say that Fred Hampton was violent when he only suffered violence. The black community throughout this country did not create the situation that we not only suffer aggression and a physical weight from the police revolver but we also suffer violence from being deprived and matter of fact its more daily than anything else because it makes you a living dead man..."

Irv Kupcinet

"You charge that the Chicago police and Marv Aspen have been connected in one form or another. Do you have any comment to make about that?"

(Another Speaker) Number 1

"Well, I think the whole tone of Huey's remarks are kind of interesting. You know the scattered end approach, the saying in one breath that you know we're not for violence with the gun yet we've got to take it up. Practically every bit of violence or every war for that matter is justified because this is a means to end a war of violence and that kind of circular reason isn't effective as far as...."

Huey Newton

"American thinks so. Or else they would withdraw their troops from all the communities in the world if...."

Number 1 Speaker

"Well, we're not talking about the Vietnam war. Now I happen to agree that with...."

Huey interrupts - says something inaudible.

Number 1 Speaker

"Well lets lets talk about Huey Newton and the Black Panthers."



HUEY PERCY NEWTON

All speakers talk at once in argument form.

Number 1 Speaker

"Let's keep it to the domestic situation before we get to the a foreign situation."

Huey Newton

"Lets talk about the murder of Mark Clark and Fred Hampton."

Number 1 Speaker

"Well perhaps we can talk about some of the things that happened before the murder of Fred Hampton...."

All speak at once again.

Number 1 Speaker

"I think its very interesting, the blanket charge against Mayor Daley and his police. As a matter of fact the police officers involved in the unfortunate incidents are being investigated right now by the Special Grand Jury composed of both white and black lawyers in the City of Chicago. From what I can understand they have not had too much cooperation from the Panthers in this investigation. I think there's no question that the people involved in this were not Chicago police officers as such. In other words they were Chicago police officers on loan to the States Attorneys office and were under the direction of the States Attorneys investigative personnel. They were not under the command of the Chicago Police Department at the time and even if they were they wouldn't be under the command of Mayor Daley. So this is just an example of the broad brush that you sweep with."

Huey Newton

"Fred Hampton is dead. That's not broad."

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Huey Newton

"Mark Clark is dead."

Number 1 Speaker

"Yeah, but the charges you made were against Mayor Daley and his police. He's pointing out that these were States Attorneys police and had nothing to do with the Chicago Police Department."

Huey Newton

"Well, I'm used to people passing the buck but Fred Hampton's mother will not pass the buck."

Number 1 Speaker

"Well, we're not denying that but you're making a charge that...."

All speakers and Huey Newton argue together at once.  
Inaudible.

Number 1 Speaker

"You are making erroneous, irresponsible charges that you don't have any facts to support."

Huey Newton

"I'm, I'm not only....."

Number 1 Speaker

"And its that kind of arguing that loses people who might sympathize with some of your social means and goals....."

Huey Newton

"Alright, I'll, I'll say this. I'm used to hearing the justifier speak and he always passes the buck and say its not the local, its the state. Its not the state its

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the domestic, its not the domestic its the international policy. I said that with all of these words theres something behind the violence. The Black Panther Party's dedicated to eliminating this violence and in the process we will defend ourselves from it. Now you don't even know who's responsible or what agency was responsible."

Number 1 Speaker

"No, I don't know. We're trying to...."

All speakers argue at one time.

Huey Newton

"In other words what you are saying is that Mayor Daley was not connected at all with the States Attorney, has no control on him and that actually something is wrong with the structure of the government. In fact there's something wrong with the structure of the American government, and that is that we always get a situation where someone wants to pass the buck. I said that you are responsible and in some way I am responsible and I'm not attempting to make the transformation so that I will no longer be responsible. I would not stand witness in other words to murder. If I stand witness to murder and I do nothing then I'm not standing witness and agreeing. I will be responsible when we go into the community to organize survival programs as far as health is concerned. We have here in Chicago a very large a health clinic where we feed children. We try to make them live and then when the police try to end that life with the service revolver then we take up arms and will defend ourselves. Then the Black Panther Party is the most violent group in the whole world.

Irv Kupcinet

"Let me interrupt for just a moment we'll come right back to this discussion with Mr. Newton and the others after this message."

Commercial.



HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Irv Kupcinec

"Mr. Parker you wanted to get a word in."

Mr. Parker

"Yeah, well Huey I know you've been...I've been reading some of your quotes, at least the quotes attributed to you, for a number of years and you've been suggesting a different kind of political and economic system. I'm interested in just what kind of system you're interested in replacing our political and economic system with?"

Huey Newton

"First the Black Panther Party believes that a transformation is necessary because we're not satisfied with the kind of treatment and the kind of...."

All speakers argue again.

Huey Newton

"May I finish please."

Speaker

"But just what kind of a system will it be?"

Huey Newton

"Well I have to start at the point that I want to. That is that we see there's a need for transformation. I'm sure you agree with that."

Speaker

"Well I-I-I-"

Huey Newton

"Because you're not satisfied...."



HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Speaker

"I believe that you agree that theres a need for transformation I want to know what the transformation is going to end up as."

Huey Newton

"No. I asked you a question. You also think that there needs to be some improvement don't you?"

Speaker

"Wait a minute. I just asked you the question now all you have to do is answer it. Don't answer a question with a question to me."

Huey Newton

"I don't know if I want to answer your question..."

Speaker

"Oh, thats a different ball game then. Your not... your not..."

Huey Newton

Alright, would you answer my question... would you answer my question..."

Speaker (Keeps talking at same time Huey talks)

"I just asked a simple question. I just want to know where you are - I just want to know where you are... so we could go from there..."

Huey Newton

"Are you satisfied with the situation of a people of color in this country, black people...."

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Speaker

"Huey I'll be very happy to answer questions you ask as long as you answer mine. I just asked you a very simple question."

Huey Newton

"Well I won't answer your question. If you asked the question I might answer it at first...."

Irv Kupcinec

"Let me ask you a question Huey."

Huey Newton

"And I'll ask you one and let's see how it works out again. Go ahead."

Speaker

"I...you want to make some changes in the economic system of the United States."

Huey Newton

"Don't you think some changes are necessary in this country at this time?"

Speaker

"Absolutely. But I want to know what changes you want to make."

Huey Newton

"Now, you've qualified because you've...."

Speaker

"I didn't qualify at all, I just asked you what kind of changes you want to make."

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Huey Newton

"No, no first you've qualified at for me to answer the question. In other words if you would not answer a simple question then I will not answer your question."

Speaker

"I answered your question."

Huey Newton

"You did?"

All speakers argue.

One Speaker says while Huey continues talking

"We'll we'll come back to you in a minute, we'll come back to you in a minute."

Huey Newton

"I don't want to talk to you cause you didn't answer my question. Now first we need change, secondly we must go about analyzing the problem in a scientific manner. We must not use emotionalism but we should try to resolve contradictions which brings about either a peaceful kind of confrontation or else one that's violent. We would like to see a negotiated peaceful transformation but do not believe it will come about because of the greed of the ruling circle. We would like a cooperative type of government where the people and the various communities in the country will have complete control of all institutions and will appoint representatives to run their co-ops. They will own these things where there's housing, where there is a market place, and where there is education. We cannot back track history, you can never turn history back. This is a very highly developed urban country the technology is fast going into technocracy. So we have some big national industries. We feel that these national industries should serve the community by pouring the resources back into these many

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

dispersed ethnic communities throughout the country so that the people can integrate into their cooperatives. This is the plan. Its not a whole plan because after the transformation there will be many things...."

Speaker

"How do you accomplish this Huey?"

Huey Newton

"Does that answer your question?"

Speaker

"That answers the question, yes."

Huey Newton

"Thank you."

Speaker

"To me what you're espousing is the type of socialism that many organizations advocate. Many candidates go on the ballot in this city and throughout this country on that type of a program but I think... its a form of socialism."

Another Speaker

"No, its more Maoism."

Huey Newton

"I'll say it is."

Speaker

"I wouldn't want to put words in Huey's mouth."

Speaker

"All right."



HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Huey Newton

"I call it the cooperative government."

Speaker

"Yeah, all right."

Speaker

"I wouldn't want to put words in his mouth."

Huey Newton

"I appreciate that...May I ask you a simple question...."

Speaker

"I asked you first though....."

All argue.

Irv Kupcinec

"We'll come right back to you Jay. We'll come right back to you Jay."

Speaker

"I don't really care what (inaudible) you put in it. I think its fine. I think in this country... this show is probably an example of it...anybody can espouse any type of government or social institution they want. But to me whats even more relevant..."

Huey Newton (interrupts)

"Well I don't think that qualifies...."

Speaker

"Let let me finish...2 minute Huey."

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Huey Newton

"The structure for a democracy of being fair. It shows fascism in this country is so advanced, is so brazen, it can let the victim speak and feel secure that nothing will happen. In Spain where fascism is somewhat weak the government is afraid so if you utter a word against it then they (inaudible) come down. So this very program is a monument for the people to see that the country is so fascist and so strong it will even let the victim scream."

Speaker

"Well, as I started to say before...another speaker interrupts..."

Speaker

"The other (inaudible) is that we do encourage dissent in this country and we give everybody a voice to speak their mind..."

Huey Newton

"Right, you know but you do not..."

Speaker

"I'm very curious...Huey... I'm very curious. All that you say is fine and whether you agree that we have a democracy this program is a democracy in action..."

Huey Newton

"Oh yeah, who fought democracy?"

Speaker

"All right whether it is or not thats irrelavent..."

Huey Newton

"The people don't have a democracy..."

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Speaker

"That's irrelevant to the point that I'm making right now. My point is simply this. How are you going to accomplish this?"

Huey Newton

"We will accomplish it by things that are sufficient, efficient, and necessary."

Speaker

"Forget that gobby gook. How are you going to accomplish it. In action not words. What are you going to do?"

Huey Newton

"I will not let you rest in peace and I give you the plans so that then you will say well, I'm satisfied he said if you'll let me stay in power because he'll only accept compromises."

Speaker

"Maybe I want to join your organization Huey, maybe I want to join forces with you if you tell me what the plan is then maybe I can..."

Huey Newton

"You wouldn't be able to join because you don't answer simple questions."

Speaker

"Don't say I won't be able to join you. You don't know if I might be converted on this program... if you say the right things. Who knows?"

Huey Newton

"It would be easier for a camel to go through an eye hole of a (inaudible) than it would be for you to --"

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

transformed into a peoples advocate."

Speaker

"I just learned something I didn't know."

Another Speaker

"Where did you draw that conclusion on Mr. Parker?"

Huey Newton

"My father's a preacher."

Speaker

"Well I said I just learned something cause I didn't know you believed in the Bible."

HUEY NEWTON

"Well, I don't have to believe anything. And the other thing is that you don't understand the English language."

Speaker

"You told me that you do?"

Huey Newton

"In order to quote...Did I say that I believe that?"

Speaker

"That's why I'm asking the question."

Huey Newton

Well you should have asked it first, and not pretended that I made a statement."



HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Speaker

"Well I'll get around to asking all kinds of questions...."

Speaker

"Huey, I still don't understand how you are going to accomplish these things that you say you're going to do. Are you going to do it by the ballot box? Are you going to do it in the street? If so how are you going to do it in the street? I think these are the important things rather than...."

Huey Newton

"Well, actually (inaudible) is dedicate the service to the people and its not what we would do because we can't do anything. The people mobilize the people on the move. They will make the transformation that an organization or party can make. The transformation thats necessary in this country.

Speaker

"Well, how are they how are the people going to do it Huey?"

Huey Newton

"What we can do is build a kind of institution thats necessary so they can exert power and these will be countered to the bourgeois institutions including the electoral kind of arena where the only people who enjoy the democracy...."

Speaker

"Well, now you've made a very firm statment that you're going to reconstruct organizations. What kind of organizations are the people going to express themselves in."

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Huey Newton

"Well, if you were socially aware you would know that right here in Chicago we have a health clinic, that it is very much used by the people and we also feed children."

Speaker interrupts

"I know very well on West 16th Street."

Huey Newton

"We make loans to a welfare recipients throughout the country and we pass out clothing. We do everything so the people will survive..."

Speaker

"You had a Breakfast Program which has been successful but has reduced itself for some reason or another."

Huey Newton

"There's always trials and tribulations with the victim to exist. If we were satisfied then we would have already won a ....."

Speaker

"Now are these the methods you need to convert the people by these various things you have just cited?"

Huey Newton

"I've given you some of the means by which we'll use to survive but this will not deliver us our salvation. It will not bring us to the goal because in order to get rid of the survival program we would have to first eliminate the causes of it and in order to eliminate the cause it will take a complete transformation of American society."

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Speaker

"How are you going to accomplish that transformation?"

Huey Newton

"By those means that are efficient and sufficient..."

Speaker

"Well what are they? Obviously..."

Speaker

"I mean you're talking in a circle now. Apparently you don't want to answer that question."

Huey Newton

"I've answered the question."

Speaker

"No I think he did say originally that he didn't want to let anybody know outside of his organization or...."

Huey Newton

"No, I didn't say that."

Speaker

"Well you suggested that anyway..."

Speaker

"One minute gentlemen....."

Huey Newton

"If you have a problem with semantics a..."

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Everyone speaks at once: inaudible.

Irv Kupcinec

"One gentlemen in Chicago the Reverend the Reverend Jesse Jackson..."

Huey Newton

"I think you have both a comprehension problem also a word problem."

Speaker

"All right."

Irv Kupcinec

"Let me get back to the conversation. I'll come right back. You want to ask a question Jay. I'll bow to you sir."

Jay

"I'd simply like to know what kind of economic system you would advocate once we reached some kind of a transformation in this system."

Huey Newton

"Do you consider a..."

Jay

"Oh, come on Huey just answer the question you know don't ask me a question when I ask you a question."

Huey Newton

"I refuse to speak with you Comrade Brother."

Speaker

"Upon the grounds that it might in a sense incriminate you..."



HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Huey Newton

"On the grounds...on the grounds..."

All speak at once.

Speaker

"If we're going to have some basis for a discussion... we have to lay a little ground work and determine where we are. Now, I just want to know what you're advocating so that I can meet you maybe half way and discuss it with you..."

Huey Newton

"I could never be afraid of being incriminated because to be the victim is to be (inaudible) and a you've demonstrated that today because of your lack of concern you see..."

Speaker

"You're shifting your grounds you know. I mean your reasoning..."

Huey and another speaker argue about answering simple questions.

Speaker

"Because you won't answer my simple question..."

Huey Newton

"And I accuse you of being...." Argue.

Speaker

"Well you know terms...what do they mean really... I mean when you can't address yourself to something then you simply resort to rather (inaudible) terms you know really..."

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Huey Newton

"Your questions haven't been very profound so that I cannot deal with them and give you an intelligent answer but I refuse to let you..."

Speaker

"You refuse..."

Huey Newton

"Force me to do something that I don't want to do. A matter of fact is what the Black Panther Party teaches. No matter what we will maintain our dignity and we will choose the course. You see, in other words, we will not yield to the spear because men should never yield to the spear but make the spear yield to them...."

Irv Kupcinet

"We're just engaging in conversation there's no spears here..."

Huey Newton

"That means that a...there are many here. But you don't understand the..."

Speaker

"Do you mind some questions of a of a somewhat personal nature Huey? If you do I won't ask them. I was curious about a couple of things I've read about your..."

Huey Newton

"I might answer and I might not ask the question."

Speaker

"All right. I was curious about your bond money. I've read things..."

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Both Huey and Speaker talk at once.

Irv Kupcinet (interrupts)

"One at a time please."

Speaker

"Some reports say that a perhaps this is Panther money that was ear marked for other things for example your Breakfast Programs. It was used for your bond money."

Huey Newton

"I might answer that if you answer a question that we could consider personal. Where did the States Attorney get the money to hire Sullivan who costs so much. Does he use the taxpayers money? Its rumor Sullivan is one of the most highest paid attorneys in this state. He charges so much an hour and its rumor that the States Attorney, in defense of himself, because he has to ge before the Grand Jury is now hiring this man..."

Irv Kupcinet

"Well Marv can answer that he's in that area."

Marv

"I'm not aware of the Sullivan that they've hired. There are a lot of expensive Sullivan's in this town who are attorneys. I'm not too familiar with them..."

Irv Kupcinet

"I don't know any so I won't get involved in this..."

Huey Newton

"Well you you ought to investigate this attorney because the people want to know Sullivan. As you very

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

well know I'm from out of state even though I'm concerned with the victims everywhere..."

Marv

"No, I honestly don't know the answer to your question Huey."

Huey Newton

"Well the question as far as my bail money was concerned is that I could give you an answer but I won't."

Irv Kupcinet

"And lets pause here for a moment for a message. You get an answer to this right after this message."

Commercial.

Irv Kupcinet

"Mr. Parker you represent or are a member of the Young Americans for Freedom in Washington, D.C., and Philadelphia?"

Mr. Parker

"That's correct, I'm Director of Community Affairs."

Irv Kupcinet

"The what?"

Mr. Parker

"I'm Director of Community Affairs for the National Organization."

Irv Kupcinet

"What has been your impression of the Black Panthers? You certainly have come in contact with them in Washington and Philadelphia."



HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Mr. Parker

"I have not had any personal contact with them in Philadelphia or Washington, other than through the newspapers, radio or television, but my impression is not a good impression of them in terms of what I've been reading about their advocacy of changing the political and economic structure of our country."

Irv Kupcinet

"How do you feel about the violence which has been attributed to the Black Panthers and has been denied as you heard Huey deny today that they believe in this kind of violence?"

Mr. Parker

"A perhaps you'd better refresh my memory so we can deal with the specific piece of..."

Irv Kupcinet

"Well the big argument was quoted by their attorney in San Francisco who says something like 28 had been killed then he reduced it to 19 and then a man named Epstein wrote a story in New York in which he pointed out that only two really accused could be victims of murder (inaudible) two were in Chicago right here."

Huey Newton

"Kup may I escalate that to put this in true perspective. It was a mistake, a tragic mistake, I heard the Frost program where Honorable Attorney Charles Garry attempted to go through and justify or argue the 30 murder that the police have committed against the Panthers. I would like to escalate it so that the argument can be more lively that I charged genocide, number one that not 30 a black people killed but over 50 million, and this is according to a Bachelor Davidson."

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Irv Kupcinet

"Whats that got to do with Panthers we're talking about the Black Panthers?"

Huey Newton

"The Black Panther Party are only the advocates of a black community and we're not important at all. The community is important and the reason we exist is because of the 50 million over 50 million that a..."

Irv Kupcinet

"You want to a stick to that statement that you're not important at all. Is that what you mean?"

Huey Newton

"Of course, we're willing to sacrifice ourselves on behalf of the people. That means individually we're not important, but our community is important."

Irv Kupcinet (interrupts)

"Your community is important, you individually not important? I thought that was your whole point that you as individuals are not important."

Speaker

"You're not important as an individual. I'm curious about this thing Huey."

Huey Newton

"Not when compared to the community. You're interested in the whole community. You have Breakfast programs for a community which I think are commendable. To feed the poor and the young is commendable no matter who does it. And you're interested in all these things..."

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Huey Newton

"That's a very..."

Speaker

"And your not important so I'm..."

Huey Newton

"Comments when you attempt to feed the people..."

Speaker

"What about your \$650 a month penthouse that you're living in right now in California?"

Huey Newton

"What about it?"

Speaker

"Well, it seems thats thats (inaudible) important yet you say you're not important."

Huey Newton

"I don't...I refuse to answer your question until you answer mine first."

Speaker

"Wouldn't it be more important to put that money in the community to the children who should be fed; to the poor who should be clothed."

Huey Newton

"I would think so..I would think so but the Central Committee of the Black Panther Party feels it necessary to protect beings from certain murders a..."

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Speaker

"Well they feel that you and the party are more important than the people apparently."

Huey Newton

"And that Fred Hampton and Mark Clark suffer as far as my individual assessment of the situation. I think its too much for my own defense."

Speaker

"Then why do you keep it?"

Huey

"I must explain our structure then. I'm governed by a Central Committee. Our party is organized along the lines of democratic centralism....."

Speaker interrupts and talks at same time Huey does

"You're passing the same buck that you were accused of as passing the buck before...."

Huey

"I'm not passing any buck whatsoever for the simple reason that I take part in the Central Committee because I am a member. I'll stand by their decisions and defend them. Now my own personal assessment of my work; I give you insofar as the strategy the Central Committee has used I think that it is good strategy to protect an individual.....I don't think I'm important enough for that...."

Speaker interrupts

"Let me ask you one question..does thea....."

ALL ARGUE TOGETHER



HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Speaker

"Lets forget the \$650 lets assume that you have it...."

Huey

"Its really more than 650 its its really something like \$750 I think or \$800....."

Speaker

"Whatever it is.....Where does the Central Committee which made this decision stand between you and Eldridge Cleaver?"

Huey

"Now wait I wanted to add something, what's even more than that...."

Speaker (interrupts)

"Will you get around to answering that question Huey."

Huey

"The Black Community and the Black Panther Party spent over \$300,000 to save me from the gas chamber. I don't think that they should have done that but....."

Speaker

"How did they save so much money when the court overturned that conviction of guilt?"

Huey

"I spent three years in the penitentiary as a, they overturned and after that...."

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Speaker (Irv)

"They couldn't have spent that kind of money...  
its impossible to spend that kind of money...."

Huey

"There was an inter commere you would say international  
campaign to a bring the people of the world's attention upon  
the murder that was about to take place in (inaudible)  
county. So it took much energy manpower but even more than  
that...."

Speaker

"I thought the California reviewing court reversed  
the decision....."

Another Speaker

"Yeah the court reversed it...."

Huey

"Pardon me?"

Speaker

"I thought the court reversed it....?"

Huey

"In other words you didn't know that I had  
attorneys to fight the case...."

Speaker

"Yeah, but you said \$300,000 thats preposterous....."

Huey

"I guess, its very expensive in such cases....."

Kupcinet

"Let's forget that for a moment Huey. Let me go back to the Central Committee you said makes this important decision."

Huey

"Let's talk about a greater (inaudible) than \$750 lets talk about \$300,000."

Kupcinet

"Alright let's before we get there I'll come back to you in a moment. But you said the Central Committee made a decision that you should live there regardless of what the people...."

Huey

"Right, right...and I support that decision."

Kupcinet

"Where does that Central Committee which makes those decisions stand now in the battle between you and Eldridge Cleaver? Where is the Central Committee?"

Huey

"Oh they've decided that Eldridge Cleaver accepted the party."

Kupcinet

"Oh, he's out now?"

Huey

"The Central Committee decided that he...."

Kupcinet

"And you participated in that decision?"

Huey

"Of course."

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Kupcinet

"Did he participate in that decision in any way whatsoever?"

Huey

"Yes."

Kupcinet

"He did?"

Huey

"Yes".

Kupcinet

"And he is now out of the Black Panther Organization?"

Huey

"Yes he is."

Kupeinet

"Well that's a recent development then is it not?"

Huey

"Well, if you a watch our news organ you would see that its a little old, a couple of weeks..."

Kupcinet

"Well he said that he is organizing a group in New York to oppose your group in California the last I heard."

Huey

"Well you have to ask Eldridge Cleaver about that."

Kupcinet

"But there was a killing just a short time ago in



HUEY PERCY NEWTON

New York."

Huey

"Was there?"

Kupc inet

"Which a Mr. Webb which figured in this division between you and Eldridge apparently."

Huey

"Who killed him?"

Irv

"I'm not gonna say who killed him I just said there was a killing which you're aware of I'm sure..."

Huey

"I heard about it a through the paper...."

Kupc inet

"So that there is a still is friction I presume between you....."

Huey

"Between who. Between you and Eldridge?"

Kupc inet

"Between you and Eldridge."

Huey-

"How's that. What is the relationship between a man being killed in New York and a dialectical argument between Eldridge and I."

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Kupcinet

"Because the Party, apparently the Black Panther Party, is split very divisively with Eldridge Cleaver having a New York segment and you have either the rest of the country or the west segment and this other killing resulted according to the newspapers as a result of this division between the two of you."

Huey

"Well as I said I believe very little what I read in the newspaper and I would suggest that you do the same because usually its not very accurate."

ALL ARGUE TOGETHER AGAIN

Speaker

"Now you know why I'm asking you questions while your sitting right here Huey."

Huey

"As far as my concerned, the Black Panther Party is not engaged in any warfare on any factional basis and we don't view the parties being split."

Kupcinet

"You don't."

Huey

"No."

Kupcinet

"And Cleaver is just out, thats that, the works."

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Huey

"That was the decision."

Kupcinet

"That's one thing you said that was definite now we got that much clear right? There's no question about Eldridge Cleaver?"

Huey

"Well I said...I said that at first he defected."

Speaker

"Are there any blacks Huey other than those in the Black Panthers whom you respect in terms of their commitment. I know you've characterized Jesse Jackson as peculiar and I think you said some unkind things about Stokely Carmichael, correct me if I'm wrong. Are there any other blacks outside of the Panther movement whose motives aren't suspect or that you feel are doing good for their people?"

Huey

"Well I respect thirty million black people and thats all...."

Speaker

"I'm talking about....I'm talking about....leadership..."

Huey

"So most of them are outside of the Black Panther Party as far as leadership. There's no leadership at this time because what the American fascist will do with a leader is to eliminate him and put him into prison."

Kupcinet

"Did you have any respect for a gentlemen like Whitney Young for instance, the late Whitney Young as a leader."

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Did you regard him as a leader?"

Huey

"In other words I'm saying that I respect black people generally and in the whole struggle for freedom we've used many approaches and we've had many contradictions and arguments with each other as far as a..."

Kupcinet

"That's understandable...."

Huey

"As far as attempting to arrive at a tactic that will give us our freedom I'm concerned that it's a worthless argument to talk about a contradiction with someone as far as the people I respect. I respect all of them.

Kupcinet

"Now Jesse Jackson, as he mentioned a few weeks ago, has called for a Third Party Huey to achieve some of the same objectives I'm sure you want to achieve. Could you support him in this effort? Do you see a third political party as a means in which you could operate?"

Huey

"Well first I would have to find out if the people would support that move because we are servants of the people and we would have to find out would they grasp this or have they been totally disillusioned."

Kupcinet

"Of course you have a committee which makes major decisions. By your own say so a few moments ago won't the Central Committee consider.... will they consider supporting Jesse Jackson?"



REPLY TO THE QUESTION

Huey

"Wait just one minute. The Black Panther Party Central Committee is dedicated to a scientific analysis...objective analysis and we analyze and attempt to analyze will of the people."

Kupcinet

"How do you do it by (inaudible) you mean the Black Panthers, your own membership, or the black community in general?"

Huey

"I say...you asked me about the a..."

Kupcinet

"Central Committee."

Huey

"I was attempting to give you some idea on how we arrive at decisions...."

Kupcinet

"Yes."

Huey

.....and what subject matter we will focus upon. What we're concerned with is that the desires of the people in the oppressed community, specifically black people and all people of color and some poor white people. If what we attempt to do is to analyze their desire we will decide through argument within the Central Committee after we investigate and see exactly what the people want."

Speakers all argue at once (inaudible)

Kupcinet

"One second let me interrupt for a moment for a message and we'll come right back, I'm sorry to interrupt at this moment."

COMMERCIAL---COMMERCIAL---COMMERCIAL

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Kupcinet

"Jay Parker."

Parker

"It appears Irv that Mr. Newton is talking in terms of a (inaudible) when he refers to the blacks and also the poor whites, now by definition he refers to poor whites, it seems as though we're talking about class. Now I wonder if he's talking in terms of all blacks also in other words individuals who are referred to as bourgeois blacks, those who perhaps may be a half million dollars or something of that sort. I know it's a typical question simply because if we're talking in terms of a classless society ultimately we're talking in terms of equalitarianism. I think its visionary utopia and I simply don't see any grass roots grounds swollen on the basis of anything like this."

Kupcinet

"You say the blacks in other words..."

Parker and Irv Argue (inaudible)

Huey

"What I would say, first I would like to say that I would like to rally or encourage the black community to focus upon the trial of our chairman Bobby Seale and Ericka Huggins in New Haven, Connecticut, who are now standing trial for their lives and to come to their aid and do everything possible...."

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Speaker

"Like what ....?"

Huey

"In order to get them out of that oppressive situation, now secondly I would like to say as far as the party is concerned we are now emphasizing the need to create a comprehensive collection of institutions which again means community and we are doing this by erecting a program based upon survival. We see that the change is a need to come about. We know that there are a few people in this country, some experts say its about 76 companies, others say its about 20 according to the report on civil disorders of President Johnson. It was written a few years ago and it was stated then that approximately 76 corporations controlled the economy of the United States and no one could really compete with those corporations. They are monopolies and a they not only control the economy here but of the world. So we say that there needs to be some redistribution of wealth and power in this country and subsequently the world as far as a candidate is concerned. If the candidate is tied to supporting or dealing with these 76 companies without any transformation we say its lost already."

Kupcinet

"You're against the concentration of power aren't you?"

Huey

"Yes. I would like to have....."

Kupcinet

"Are you against the concentration of power by Mao in China who controls it all in his own hands?"

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Huey

"Well that's your analysis and I doubt if you're a scientist."

Kupcinet

"Well I think it's pretty well said that .....don't you agree that he does?"

Huey

"No I don't agree."

Kupcinet

"You don't?"

Huey

"No. A....:

Kupcinet

"You don't think he's a former dictator?"

Huey

"Was Chiang Kai Chek (PH), a dictator?"

Kupcinet

"Damn right he was."

Huey

Did America support Chiang Kai Chek?"

Kupcinet

"He did at one time, yes."



HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Huey

"Do they support him now in Formosa?"

Kupcinet

"Only to our own advantage temporarily."

Huey

"Thats what you always do because youre an opportunist."

Kupcinet

"Whats the answer though..."

Huey

"You You You will support....."

ALL ARGUE

Kupcinet

"Do you want the concentration of power like Mao has?"

Huey

"Do you know what this man just said? He said that he will support any one if its to this country's advantage and what he really...."

Kupcinet

"Did I say that?"

Huey

"You said that you would....."

Kupcinet

"I said that the country is doing that, I didn't say 'I was doing that...'"

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Huey

"You support the country don't you?"

Kupcinet

"I don't support that policy.... we have the right to differ you see we have dissent in this country, you have a right to express it as you have....."

Huey

"In other words maybe you're improving...."

ALL ARGUE

Kupcinet

"But you are against the concentration in this power of the country but you're not against the concentration of power in Red China. Why?"

Huey

"No. No I disagree that its concentrated number one..."

Kupcinet

"Well that ridiculous if you don't agree its concentrated thats against all the known....."

Huey

"Now secondly....it's ridiculous that you would say it's ridiculous.

Kupcinet

"Its against all known history."

Huey

"No, it's not known to a...."

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Kupcinet

"You just want to change history to appease your own ends".

Huey

"Okay. I could tell you some people that will disagree. Would you like to hear?"

Speaker

"Is there a concentration of power in the Soviet Union?"

Huey

"Pardon me?"

Speaker

"Is there a concentration of power in the Soviet Union?"

Huey

"There might be".

Speaker

"What do you mean there might be? Yes or No?"

Kupcinet

"Why don't you want to admit these concentrations of power by the dictator?"

Huey

"The first thing is this... that first will you agree that there is a concentration of power in this country right?"

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Kupcinet

"I have to agree that they are getting more today sure"

Huey

"According to Felix Graham they get more so at some point there was some breakdown in the concentration of power. Maybe not as much as you would like but you have to agree the suffering was redistributed isn't that right."

Kupcinet

"Well maybe you got to agree that the concentration of power isn't always bad".

Huey

"No wait just one minute now..."

Speaker and Huey and Irv Argue (Inaudible)

Huey

"First you said that many many people, according to Felix Graham in Shanghai, before the revolution bodies were found every day from starvation. After Chiang Kai Shek was defeated there has been no starvation."

Kupcinet

"That's not the point your getting away from the point...my point... my point was that you disagree or that you don't want concentration of power here but your willing to accept it elsewhere because it's you're political process...."



HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Huey Saying At Same Time Irv is Talking

"No, the point the point is...you asked me... oh you speaking absolutely...your speaking absolutely when I talk about process. I'm saying that what is happening there the people are gaining more power and to take note of what was before and now will show you that their position has improved. So in the process of revolution the process never stops as it stops then it becomes reactionary so the process of getting the people more and more freedom more and more power and more and more of the good life and the good life is....."

Kupcinet

"Well why don't you take recognition of the revolution going on in this country with the changes going on (inaudible) in this country?"

Huey

"No revolution can go in this country when it's the seat of reaction by a placing their troops their fleets at the shores of every country that opposes their reactionary way of government....."

Kupcinet

"That's a broad statement Huey that you know isn't true....."

Huey

"In other words what is the relationship between why the United States would go into Vietnam, stay so long and kill so many people in the name of peace. Why would they go into the Dominican Republic. A few years ago, why would they support the Greek regime that's fascist and everyone knows it. But they would do it simply to maintain power and to not let the process of revolution go on.

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

So I'm saying that there's no absolute, no, there's no place in the world today where power has been disbursed to the point where there's absolutely no concentration. But when this happens they will reach a Utopia. I don't believe in Utopias so any country that we can imagine you will find some degree of concentration of power...but what we have..."

Kupcinet

"Let a Marvin get in a word will you Huey your...."

Huey

"But what we have to do is this. We would have to gauge and see if there's improvement and if there is improvement then is the process going on because once it stops then that government is reactionary."

All Argue (Inaudible)

Kupcinet

"Let Marvin get in a word."

Marvin

"I'm interested in of course what Huey has to say about China and Russia and Vietnam and all these things just as I'm interested in any one's views on it but I think he's avoided getting explicit. A...."

Huey

"He's (inaudible) refused to answer any questions."

Marvin

"Well let me finish Jay, for a minute. I think that you know there are a lot of things that the people who are listening to this program would like to know about the Black Panthers. You refuse to be explicit you've given us a lot of verbias when I've tried to pin you down you said something before..."

Huey

"Like what like how like who paid my bail...."

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Marv

"Let me try again. Let me try again Huey..... here's something their interested in Huey. You mentioned that the people listening should support Bobby Seale in his trial....Alright...."

Huey

"And also consider Fred Hampton and Mark Clark."

Marv

"Alright, be specific. What should the people do to support Bobby Seale. What are you asking the people to do?"

Huey

"A well in the first thing I don't I don't....."

Marv

"Because they might be confused as to what you're saying. They might know you really don't know what you want them to do."

Huey

"Alright, alright, I'll tell you. To see that justice is to be done and take note that 15 hundred jurors went through that courtroom and none of them qualified. In other words, to get 12 jurors it took 15 hundred, ask yourself the question why the American way is not for people to come into the court time after time and say in that city....."I'm so racist....."

Speaker

"Well what do you want the man on the street to do then?"

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Huey

"I'm so racist and so I cannot give any black a fair trial. Now what I'm saying the man on the street should first understand that the judicial system does not work for him that he should use whatever means that's efficient...."

Speaker

"What means? For example...."

Huey

"Necessary and sufficient....to make the transformation."

Speaker

"Give us an example...."

Kupciner

"You're stuck on those words efficient and sufficient..."

Speaker

"Give us an example of some of those means..."

Huey

"It keeps us flexible. We don't telegraph (inaudible)."

Speaker

"Alright without (inaudible) give us an example of a method or a means of sufficient, efficient what's the other one? What's the liturgy? A efficient, sufficient and necessary..."

Huey

"And that depends very much upon the oppressor's action."



HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Speaker

"Alright, well give me a..we know what the oppressor's action is according to you. Allegedly oppressor's action is trying Bobby Seale. Alright now what....."

Huey

"No, no no....the murder of Mark Clark and Fred Hampton that's the action."

Speaker

"I'm asking you about Bobby Seale. What can the person on the street do...."

Huey

"The killing of 50 million blacks..."

Speaker

"What can the person on the street do to support Bobby Seale? You've asked the people on the street to support Bobby Seale. "

Huey

"The support of the Greek Regime. That's the thing that the country is guilty of and those are the things I want to ...."

Kupcinet

"We've asked you a specific question about Bobby. Huey, you can answer that can't you?"

Huey

"What did he say..what did he say..we we were trying to harmonize I think..."

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Speaker

"No what I was saying...no what I was saying Huey is that you asked the people to support Bobby Seale by sufficient, efficient and necessary means. Well the average person listening to this program might not be sophisticated enough to come up with an example of a sufficient, efficient, and necessary means. What are some examples, give us seven or eight of them without telling us which one you're interested in..."

Huey

"Alright, alright..."

Speaker

"What are some means?"

Huey

"That's for the people to know and for you to find out."

MANY PEOPLE LAUGH

Speaker

"Well I played that game when I was five years old..."

Huey

"And you're only three now."

Kupcinet

"Is that the best answer you can give him though seriously without...."

Huey

"That's the only answer I will give...ask the people what they would do. They'll show you through action."

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Kupcinet

"What action what kind...what kind of action..."

Speaker

"What can we participate in."

Huey

"Consider the people, ask them."

Speaker

"Well ~~you're~~ part of the people, I'm asking you."

Huey

"No, but the people collectively will decide and they'll tell me what to do."

Speaker

"But the people individually make up their minds...."

Speaker

"Did the people tell you to appear on this program today?"

Huey

"Yes. I have a mandate from the people. Get on your phone and call them rapidly."

Kupcinet

"Did you want to say something, Jay?"

Jay

"Yeah. You know I get concerned about this this Newton talking."

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Speaker

"You're concerned, I'm confused."

Speaker

"Well being confused--well not confused but I'm just almost frustrated frankly...."

Huey

"You shouldn't be frustrated...(inaudible)"

Speaker

"Well just relax a second Huey...just relax for a second Huey..just relax a second. I'd just like to know where a persons headed thats all. There's no reason why anybody in this country...."

ALL ARGUE Three speakers talk at once (inaudible)

Kupcinet

"Hold it just a minute will you gentlemen oh Huey hold it a minute hold it Huey this doesn't make sense. One person at a time. Jay you had the floor...."

Jay

"You know I appeared on the program here in Chicago with some fellows from the American Nazi Party one time. They gave me the same rhetoric. They said once we transform society we perhaps, after I pinned them down, for saying that they may have to have a concentration of power for a period of time until they could straighten the system out. You know...I'm... it appears as though your saying the same thing if your not say so."

Huey

"I'm not."



HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Jay

"Alright, I just want to know whats in store for me. That's all you know, in other words you think I'm gonna sit here and listen to this rhetoric and listen to emptiness. I don't see how you could recruit anybody like that...."

Huey

"Well the first thing I'm not here to recruit you..."

Jay

"Well not me. But you have an audience out here you have an audience out here your talking to its television Huey...."

Huey saying at same time Jay is speaking

"The people appreciate what I'm saying. If the people don't appreciate it then they will discipline me not you."

Speaker

"I'm not disciplining you."

Huey and Speaker Argue

Speaker

"How would they discipline you?"

Huey

"Pardon me?"

Speaker

"How would they discipline you if they disagree with what you're saying?"

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Huey

"They would criticize me."

Speaker

"I don't consider you beyond redemption Huey but I'm not going to sit here and discipline you or criticize you in the sense that lets try and make you say something that you don't want to say, I mean you're a free man and..."

Huey

"No. I'm not free. But you have illusion of freedom and that's just the point..."

Speaker

"Well, you're free in the context of this program to say what you want just like the four of us, you know."

Huey

"Well actually...."

Speaker

"No, he's not free cause he speaks on the consensus of his people apparently."

Speaker

"Oh, I see".

Speaker

"I mean."

Huey

"And you're not free because you have to obey the reactionary laws of this country."

Speaker

"Are you really saying that you're saying or do you have a tape recording. Are you really saying what you're saying or are you pushing a tape recorder button?"

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Huey

"I don't understand your language."

Speaker

"Well obviously not. I questioned your comprehension a little earlier."

Huey

"Alright. You know what? The thing is that your problem is this, number 1 that your program is to support a thing (inaudible)."

Speaker

"You better watch it or you'll be guilty of practicing medicine without a license."

Huey

"Yeah, alright."

Speaker

"Okay."

Huey

"I'm a witch doctor and also say that you have been civilized by white Christianity western....therefore, the only thing that we could do with you is to deliver you to the people so that they will then rid you.... (inaudible) cause of the problem."

Speaker

"Number one, you don't know if I adhere to Christianity or not do you?"

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Speaker

"How would the people rid themselves of people like Mr. Parker? I mean what do you suggest they do. I mean you use the word that people are going to rid you...."

Huey

"You know you're a very nosy man. You always want to know the opinions of the people."

Speaker

"I think that's human nature believe it or not."

Kupcinet

"Huey, let me ask you a quick question. Now there's been some talk about the possibility of forming a Black Nation within the colony where blacks would have their own nation within the United States. Do the Black Panthers visualize such a thing?"

Huey

"The first thing is that Nation has been negated through the reality or by the reality of the empire. In other words nations could not exist along side a modern empire because the very definition of the empire, the modern one, is that it controls all other countries either in a direct or indirect way so the countries of the world have now been transformed in oppressed communities. That's why we see a oneness with all of the people in the world because 76 companies not only control all of the communities here, they also control all of those first communities that use to be called nations. Their economy, their culture, and corporal institution so controlled until the United States is the decider. So first I would like to say this. That's not realistic to talk about



HUEY PERCY NEWTON

nationhood at this time.. All we can talk about is self-determination for the community. The dispersed communities of the world. Whether they be black, Chinese, Mexican, or a poor white or Vietnamese, we want the people to have the power, and to be free to decide what means and what tactics they will use. The only definition I could give would be somewhat arrogant. If I would outline it for them I'm sure it would mean they would do what is efficient and necessary in order to cause the kind of (inaudible) they want. As far as this man's concerned that a....."

Kupcinet

"Which man?"

Huey

"Well this man..."

Kupcinet

"Mr. Marvin Aspen and Mr. Jay Parker."

Huey

"And as far as this man is concerned and this man...."

Speaker

"Do you remember my name Huey?"

Huey

"I don't take them seriously."

Speaker

"Do you remember my name Huey?"

Huey

"Because a....pardon me?"

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Speaker

"Do you remember my name?"

Huey

"To me your name is...."

ALL ARGUE

Speaker

"Irv introduced me. You know I remember your name you know I give you credit for having that much intelligence can you remember me?"

Huey

"Well I thank you for letting me make an impression upon you but I'll tell you, you are a blank. So you can't remember...."

Speaker

"You didn't impress me at all. As a matter of fact, I think I had a little higher regard for you before I met you....and had a conversation with you...."

Huey

"Okay....I appreciate that because any time that you respect me then I will feel very bad."

Kupcinet

"I'm sorry we have to end now on such a sour note but our time has run out we must say goodbye to Huey Newton the Minister of Defense for the Black Panther Party. The man who believes in efficient, sufficient and all necessary means and this is Marvin Aspen, the Legal Advisor for the Cook County Sheriff and co-author of a book called, "Criminal Law for the Layman" and this is Mr. J. A. Parker, the leading spokesman for the Young American for Freedom. We will pause here for a message and we shall be back with other guests in a few seconds."

HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Huey

"Alright, thank you."

SF 157-1203  
JLC/kle

c. "David Frost Show"  
WNEW-TV  
New York, New York  
May 14, 1971

On May 14, 1971, Subject appeared on the David Frost Television Show broadcasted over Channel 5 WNEW TV, New York, New York.

Subject initially thanked the people for fighting for him while he was previously incarcerated since their efforts resulted in his subsequent release.

Subject then went on to relate that the National Association For the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) had performed admirably for its time and place in history. If there were no NAACP, there might not be today any BPP. Subject noted that no one organization has all the answers and that the leadership of the BPP was acutely aware of this.

Subject noted that in the past he was always embarrassed by the title Supreme Commander of the BPP and therefore, his title has been changed to Defense Minister of the BPP and Servant of the People.

Change is an inevitable product of history and those who are afraid of change are for the status quo. He noted all ideas and groups must change with history and defined revolution as the process which wipes out the old and plants the new. The BPP itself does not plot per se to do anything against the established order; however, such plotting as it exists arises out of the experience of the black community.

He noted that he himself was in favor of non-violence; however, drew the distinction between the violence of the aggressor and the self-defense of the victim. The



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United States in his estimation is the primary agressor in the world.

Subject noted that there were approximately 38 chapters and branches of the BPP throughout the country. The Harlem branch of the BPP left the party and is no longer associated with the BPP. Subject related that ELDRIDGE CLEAVER has done some very strange things in the recent past but has however made contributions to the party in the past. He recognizes that if it were not for CLEAVER the party would probably not be where it is today.

Subject defined the BPP as an organization which presents an organized structure through which the people can vent desires and pursue their goals.

Subject declined to describe ELDRIDGE CLEAVER as an Agent of the Government and/or the CIA just because "he might be upset with him from time to time." Contradictions he noted are necessary for progress.

Subject declared that the BPP wants the community to challenge the status quo and the party would serve as its voice and use strategies from time to time to insure the attention of the establishment.

Subject observed that policemen are workers also and that he himself seldom used the word "pig". The term "pig" is a matter of semantics and is the response of the victim to the agressor. It is a rhetorical phrase utilized by the party to heighten the awareness of the black community. Subject stated that it was his hope that the development of the BPP was not in an antagonistic fashion but realized that contradiction is a principle of the universe. He noted that the real problem in the world today is that the people want to control their institutions and retain destiny over their lives.

Subject concluded his forty-five minute appearance with the statement that the police were probably responsible

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for the recent murder of New York City BPP functionary SAM NAPIER. He admitted that he has no direct evidence of such involvement by the police in NAPIER's murder; however, he has evidence that the police are capable of such behavior.

Subject's appearance on the David Frost Show was taped during the early evening of April 29, 1971, at the Little Theater, 240 West 44th Street, New York City, for subsequent broadcasting.

According to SF T-6 Subject received \$1,500 from the Frost program to pay for Subject's transportation to New York and accommodations while there taping the show.

d. Black Odyssey Festival  
Center for Urban Black Studies  
Graduate Theological Union  
Berkeley, California  
May 19, 1971

On May 19, 1971, Subject spoke at the second annual Black Odyssey Festival in Berkeley, California. Approximately 200 persons attended the speech, most of whom were neatly dressed and appeared to be church-going people.

SF T-10  
May 19, 1971

The May 29, 1971, issue of "The Black Panther" contained the text of the statement given by Subject on May 19, 1971, to the Black Odyssey Festival:

STATEMENT BY HUEY P. NEWTON,  
MINISTER OF DEFENSE  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
SERVANT OF THE PEOPLE  
TO THE BLACK ODYSSEY FESTIVAL

*The Center for Urban-Black Studies*

*Graduate Theological Union*

*Berkeley, California May 19, 1971*

Since 1966, the Black Panther Party has gone through many changes; it's been transformed. I would like to talk to you about that and about contradictions. I would also like to talk about the Black Panther Party's relationship with the community as a whole and with the church in particular.

Sometime ago when the Party started, Bobby and I were interested in strengthening the Black community, that is, a comprehensive set of institutions, because there is one thing we lack and that is community. We do

have one institution that has been around for some time and that is the church. After a short harmonious relationship with the church, in fact a very good relationship, we were divorced from the church, and shortly after that we found ourselves out of the good favor of the whole Black community.

We found ourselves in somewhat of a void where we were alienated from the whole community; and we had no

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way of being effective, as far as developing the community is concerned. The only way we could aid in that process of revolution--and revolution is a process, it's not a conclusion, or a set of principles, or any particular action--was by raising the consciousness of the community. Any conclusion or any particular action that we think is revolution really is reaction because revolution is a developmental process. It has a forward thrust which gets higher and higher as man becomes freer and freer. As man becomes freer he knows more about the universe, he tends to control more and he therefore gains more control over himself, that's what freedom is all about.

So I'll talk about the mistakes that were made. Sometimes I hate to call them mistakes because maybe they were necessary things to bring about the necessary change in the Party, the necessary transformation, or bring about the new. I am sure that we will have other kinds of contradictions in the future, some that we don't know about now because they are in rather low-key. I am sure they will build up to hurl us into a new thing.

We see the church itself as going through phases of development. Sometimes it has found itself somewhat isolated from the community. Today the church is striving to come back into the favor of the community; so with the church the Black Panther Party will attempt this also.

A short time ago there was an article that appeared in the Black Panther Paper, if you read that poli-

tical organ, I hope that you do. It's called "The Defection of Eldridge Cleaver from the Black Panther Party and the Defection of the Black Panther Party from the Black Community."

(Editor's note: In that article, the Minister of Defense stated: "We were trying to build a political vehicle through which the people could express their revolutionary desires. We recognized that no party or organization can make the revolution, only the people can. All we could do was act as a guide to the people. Because revolution is a process and because the process moves in a dialectical manner. At one point one thing might be proper, but the same action could be improper at another point. We always emphasized a concrete analysis of concrete conditions, and then an appropriate response to these conditions as a way of mobilizing the people and leading them to higher levels of consciousness.") I would like to concentrate today upon the defection of the Party. I think that's a large unit, for sure, and I hate to place blame upon individuals in our Party in particular, because they're always governed by a collective called the Central Committee. When I disagree with the Central Committee (and I did much disagreeing and arguing when I was in prison, but I was outvoted) when we come out of the meeting, I support the position of the Party until the next meeting.

I think at first that we have to have some organized apparatus in order to bring about the change necessary. The only time we leave our political



machine or our institution altogether is when we feel that we cannot bring about the change. As a matter of fact the very posture of the organization or the institution will strip us of our individual dignity. That would leave no room for us to change anything, because we'll be stripped of that basic quality that's necessary for us to go on struggling to make the new. So I feel that this was the case with the Party and that can be argued one way or another, but individually I thought that the Party still should be held together. I knew if I left we would have to form a new Party, a new institution in order to be that spur or that guiding light in the community. Also I would have to contend with new contradictions.

We always say that contradictions are the ruling principle of the universe. I'll mention this word time and time again because I think that it's responsible for much suffering. When things collide it hurts; but the collision is also responsible for development. Without contradictions everything would be stagnant, because contradiction is that principle where opposing forces struggle against each other in order to gain dominance based upon their unity. So everything has an internal contradiction, and, as I pointed out, the church also has that.

Contradiction, or the strain that tries to make the inferior superior to the thing that is in control, gives motion to matter. We see this throughout the universe, in the physical world as well as in the biological world. We also see it in cultures. We see that de-

velopment comes when the phenomenon occurs that we call acculturation. That is, two societies meet, when cultures meet they collide because they have a contradiction, and both are modified. They say that the stronger shows less change and the weaker more change. All the time the weaker is attempting to gain dominance over that other part. But something happens, they both will never be the same again because you have a kind of synthesis, where you have the thesis, antithesis, and the synthesis. In other words that it's all working toward the truth of the trinity. This principle of contradiction, this striving for harmony, seems to operate in all of our disciplines and we can see how it operates.

So the Black Panther Party was formed because we wanted to oppose the evils in our community. Some of the members in the Party were not so refined--we were grasping for organization. It wasn't a college campus organization; it was basically an organization of the grass roots, and anytime we organize the most victimized of the victims, we run into a problem. To have a Party or a church or any kind of institution, whether we like it or not, we have to have administrators. The institution, the organization, or the Party in this case--how it functions, how effective it is--will depend upon how knowledgeable, how advanced in thinking the administrators will be. We attempt to apply the administrative skills--if you are a grass-roots organization--to the problems that are most heard in the communi-

ty. When we do this, it is somewhat abstract in a way.

History shows that it's there, and because most of the parties that have led people out of their difficulties to change the situation have administrators that have what we sometimes call the traits of the bourgeoisie or else de-classed intellectuals. In other words they are the people who have gone through the established institutions, rejected them, and then applied their skills to the community. They gave it to the community, therefore making their skill not a bourgeoisie skill, but a people's skill. It was transformed through the contradiction of applying what's usually bourgeoisie to the person who is oppressed; and that itself is a kind of transformation.

With our Party we're not so blessed with this. History does not repeat itself; it goes on also transforming itself through its dialectical process. We see that our Party, while we have administrators (we need them in the Party), the victims have not received that bourgeoisie training. So I will not apologize for our mistakes, our lack of a scientific approach that we tried to use and put into practice. It was a matter of not knowing, of learning, but also starting out with a loss, a loss that history has never seen. That is, that a group attempting to influence and change the society so much and at the same time have its administrators as much in the dark much of the time as the people that they are trying to change. In our Party we have now what

we call the Ideological Institute where we are teaching these skills. And we also invite those people who have received a bourgeois education to come and help us, letting them know that they will, by their contribution, make their need to exist--as they exist--null and void. In other words, after we learn the skills they will not be bourgeois anymore, because that will evaporate with its application.

I explain this to show some of the mistakes. I won't go into particulars but I will show you generally what happens, because it's also happened to the church. I say that everything seems to negate itself through contradiction. Remember it is transformed by the contradiction, so therefore its old quality, its old composition is transformed so much until it has a new composition. We call it a thing negating itself; sometimes we call it the negation of the negation, because just as it is formed, it is also being negated by something else, and we see that this goes on in the process of development.

\* As far as the church is concerned, the Black Panther Party, and other community groups who call themselves concerned with the political and not the spiritual, criticize the spiritual. We say that it's only a ritual; it's irrelevant, and therefore we have nothing to do with it. We say this in the context of the whole community having something to do with the church,



usually on one level or another. That is one way of defecting from the community, and that is exactly what we did. Once we stepped outside of the church with that criticism we stepped outside of the thing that the community was involved in and said to them, "You follow our example; your reality is not true and you don't need it." I think that people do the thing that they think they need and they probably do it on that level, one way or another.

Now without judging whether the church is operating in a total reality, I'll venture to say that if we judge whether the church operates in a situation of relevance to the total community, we would all agree that it does not. That is why you develop new programs and become more relevant so your pews will be filled on Sunday.

So we will say that the church is in its developmental process, then; first it needs to exist. We feel that with our new direction, which is an old direction as far as I am concerned, but we'll call it new, because there has been a reversal in the dominance in the Central Committee of our Party because of reasons that you probably know about. So we go to church and we are involved in the church and we're not doing it in any hypocritical way. I think that it is a thing that man needs at this time, and he needs it because of what? Because we scientists cannot answer all of the questions. As far as I am concerned when all of the questions are answered, when the odd is not answered, when the unknown is not answered, then there is room for God because that unknown is God. God is a

thing that we know nothing about really, and that is why as soon as the scientist develops or points out a new way of controlling the universe or part of it,

suddenly that thing is not God. In other words, at one point when thunder clashed it was God's clap, putting his hands together. As soon as we found out that it was not God, then we say that God has other attributes but not that one. So in that way we took on what was His before, you see? But you still haven't answered all of the questions, so He exists. And those scientists that say they can answer them are dishonest.

So we go into the church realizing that we cannot answer the questions at this time, that the answers will be delivered at some time, and we feel that when they are delivered they will be explained in a way that we can understand and that we can control. We noticed--I went to church for years, my father is a minister and I spent 15 years in the church, this was my life as a child--we saw one thing. That is as we approach the unknown, we see that sometimes a group of people will find something out or feel that they have discovered something they can control and say this is not God, while the other group will say that we have to approach my God differently for the simple reason that they attribute other characteristics to God. So we get many denominations, you see, all struggling to understand.

When I was going to church I used to hear much of the time, they would

say that God is within us and so therefore God is some part of us. And God is that part of us that's very mystical, in the sense that we don't understand it. But as man develops and understands more and more then he will approach God, and finally he will reach heaven and therefore he will merge with the universe. I've never heard one preacher say that there is a need for the church in heaven, the church would negate itself. As man approaches his development and becomes larger and larger, the church therefore becomes smaller and smaller because it is not needed any longer. Then if we really get ministers who will deal with the social realities that cause the misery, so that we can solve them, so that man will become larger and larger, then their God within will come out, we can see it and merge with it. Then we will be one with the universe.

So I think it was rather arrogant of my Party to criticize the community for indulging in a practice to deliver this answer. The only thing we will criticize in the future is when the church does not act upon these evils that we feel cause man to go on his knees. The man goes on his knees and humbles himself under the awe, that large force that he cannot control. But as man becomes stronger and stronger, his understanding greater and greater, he will have a closer walk with thee: You note they say walk and not crawl.

So with the church we will all start

again to control our lives and control our communities. Even with the Black church we have to really create a community spirit. We say that the church is an institution, but in itself it is not a community according to sociology. The sociological definition of a community is that a community is a comprehensive collection of institutions that will deliver our whole life, provided that we can reach most of our goals within it. It serves us and we create it in order to carry out our desires. In the Black community we have the church as an institution that we created, they let us create. They warred against us, but finally we got that compromise and we worship as a unit, as a people concerned with satisfying their needs. At the time the white church was not satisfying our needs, because the actual questions could not be answered in human terms because they felt we were not human beings. So therefore the white church does not answer our cause or our problem at all, so we formed our own. They let us form it because they felt if we're not human beings then why should we go to church? So through that negative thing a positive thing came out again. We started to administer fraternities, anti-lynching groups and so forth, but they still would not let our community exist. We came here in chains and I guess they thought we were meant to stay in chains. But this wasn't the case and the way we started to move out and have that forward thrust was to



organize a political machine or trying to develop a community so that we could have the apparatus in order to fight

back. You cannot fight an organized machine back individually, so we would work with the church in order to establish a community to satisfy most of our needs so that we can live and operate as a community group.

The Black Panther Party, with its survival programs, plans to develop the institutions in the community. We have a clothing factory we are just erecting on Third Street, where we will soon give away about 300-400 new clothes a month. And we can do this by robbing Peter to pay Paul. What we will do is start to make golfing bags under contract to a company and with the surplus we will buy material to make free clothes. Our members will do this. We will have no overhead because our collective--we'll exploit our collective by making them work free. We'll do this not just to satisfy ourselves--like the philanthropist, or to serve--to save someone from going without shoes, even though this is a part of the cause of our problem. People make the revolution; we will give the process a forward thrust. If we suffer genocide we won't be around to change things. So in this way our survival program is very practical.

What we are concerned with is the larger problem, so we will be honest and say that we will do like the churches, we will negate our necessity for existing. In other words, after we

accomplish our goals then the Black Panther Party will not need to exist because we have already created our heaven right here on earth. What we're going to do is administer to the community the things they need in order to get their attention, in order to organize them into a political machine. In other words the community will then look to the Party and look to those people who are serving their needs in order to give them guidance and direction, whether it is political, whether it is judicial, or whether it is economic.

So our real thing is to organize across this country. We have 38 chapters and branches and I would like to inform you that the so-called split is only a myth, that it does not exist. We lost 2 chapters in that so-called split and I will tell you that the burden is off my shoulders, I was glad to lose them because it was like a yoke, I was frozen. Even though I couldn't make a move I already told you that I wouldn't get out of the whole thing then, because certain people had such an influence over the Party. For me to have taken that stand it would have been an individual stand. So now we're about three years behind in our five year plan, but we will now move to start to organize the community around the survival programs, like administering shoes.

We have a shoe factory that we're opening up on 14th and Jefferson. We have the machines and everything else donated. We'll use it to get inmates out of prison because most of us know how to make shoes through making shoes in the prison. So it will serve two purposes. We can give them a position in the shoe factory and therefore get somebody out on parole; secondly they'll come out with the idea of giving a certain amount of shoes away each week, and we'll have a right to wear shoes program. We'll point out that everyone in the society should have shoes and we should not have a situation like in Beaufort County, South Carolina where the children--many of them--70% of the children suffer brain damage because of malnutrition. They have malnutrition because of the combination of not enough food and parasites in the stomach. The worm eats up half the food that they take in. Why? Because the ground is infested with the eggs of the worms and they don't have shoes to wear. So as soon as we send a doctor there to cure them they get the parasites again. So we think that a shoe program is a very relevant thing, first to make them live, to create those conditions so that they will grow up and be able to work out a plan to change things. If they have brain damage, they will never be a revolutionist because they cannot plan because they have already been killed. That is genocide in itself.

So we will do this and we will point

out to this government, to this social order, that they must administer to its people because they say that they're supposed to be a representative government, representing the needs of the people. Then serve them. If they don't do this then they have a right to be criticized. What we will not do in the future is jump too far ahead. We can jump too far ahead and say that the system absolutely cannot give us anything which is not true, the system can correct itself to a certain extent. What we are interested in is for it to correct itself as much as it can do and after that if it doesn't do everything that the people think is necessary then we'll think about reorganizing things.

To be very honest again I think there's great doubt whether the particular arrangements can do this. But until the people feel the same way I feel then I'll be rather arrogant to say dump the whole thing just as we were arrogant to say dump the church. Let's give it a chance, let's work with it in order to twist as many contributions and compromises out of all the institutions as possible and then criticize after the fact. We'll know when that time comes, when the people tell us so.

We have a program attempting to get the people to do all they will do. It's too much to ask the people to do all they can do, because we know we can do everything. But that is not the point, the point is how do we get them to do all they will do, until they



eventually get to the point they will have to be doing all they can do because they will be satisfied with everything else? This is the kind of program we have.

When the Party started we started because we recognized that what was growing out of the movement was what we called a cultural cult group. We defined a cultural cult group as an organization that disguised itself as a political organization, but really it was more interested in the cultural rituals of Africa in the 1100's before the contact with the European. Instead of administering to the community and organizing it, they would rather wear bubas and get African names and use this and demand that the community do the same and do nothing about the survival of the community. Sometimes they say that "well if we get our culture back then all things will be solved," this is like saying to be regenerated and born again is to solve everything. We know that it is not solved.

We went into a thing just as closed in as the cultural cultist group. You might know many churches that are very reactionary and you might call them a religious cult. They go through many rituals but they're divorced from reality. Even though we have many things in common with them we say they isolate themselves from reality because they're so miserable and reality is so hard to take. We know that by us operating within the reality does not mean that we accept it; we're operating within it, so that we can

change it, because what we do as revolutionists we're somewhat abstract in our approach. The people are always real. They think they are real, but we know that reality is changing all the time, but what we want to do is harness those forces that are causing the change in order to direct them in a desirable direction. In other words the development will go on, but we have no guarantee that it will develop so man can live. We have no guarantee that the bomb won't be dropped, but we know that there are certain ways that we can plan for the new reality, and in order to do this, we have to take some control over the now. So the people who withdraw, like I mentioned the religious cultist group, do the same thing as the cultural cultist group.

These are new words that we have coined. The Panthers are always coining words, because we have to keep defining the new reality, the new phenomena. The old words confuse us sometimes, because things have changed so much. So we try to stay abreast, by developing or stipulating definitions, the old lexical definitions become so outdated after the qualitative leap (the transformation) that it doesn't match at all what we're talking about now.

The new word that we are talking about now is what I was guilty of. I was guilty of this when I offered the Black troops to Viet Nam--I won't talk about whether it was morally right or wrong--I will say that anything that you say or do as a revolutionist that does not spur or give the forward thrust to the process (of revolution),

is wrong. Remember that the people are the makers of history, the people make everything in their society. They are the architects of the society and if you don't spur them on then I don't care what phrases you use, whether they are political or religious, you cannot be classified as being relevant to that process. You might be reactionary because if you know you're wrong and do these things then you're reactionary because you are very very guilty. You deserve many stripes. Some of us didn't know. I'm probably more guilty than anyone. I keep searching myself to see whether I knew we were going wrong. I couldn't influence them (the Central Committee) and maybe I should have been charged with an individual violation and gotten out that they didn't know. I think most of them didn't know, so they're not as guilty as I am. But anyway, the new word that we call what we went into for a short length of time--a couple of years--is revolutionary cultist.

The revolutionary cultist uses the words social change, they use words for being interested in the development of society, he uses that terminology, you see. But his actions are so far divorced from the process, and organizing the community until he is living in a fantasy world. So we talk to each other on the campuses, or we talk to each other in the conspiracy of the night, with concentration upon the weapons thinking that these things will produce change, without the people themselves changing it. Of course peo-

ple will do courageous things and call themselves the vanguard. But the people who do things like that are either heroes or criminals. They are not the vanguard because the vanguard means spearhead, and the spearhead has to spearhead something, if nothing is behind it, then you are divorced from all the masses, and, not the vanguard.

I am going to be very criticized now by the revolutionary cultists and probably even more in the future because I view the process as going in stages. I feel that we can't jump from A to Z, we have to go through all that development. So even though I could see a thing is not the answer, I don't think it's dishonest to involve myself in it for the simple reason that the people tend to take not even one step higher, they take a half a step higher.

Then hang on to the reality or what they view as the reality, because they can't see that it is constantly changing and when it finally changes (qualitatively) they don't know why. Remember that part of the reason it changes around them is because they are there, so they participate whether they like it or not.

So what we will do now is involve ourselves in anything or any stage of development in the community, support that and try to introduce some insight into it. Then we will work very hard with the people in the community and with this institution so that it can negate itself. We will be honest about this and we hope they are honest. They will be honest if they accept this thing, that is the reality that everything



is negated and this is how we go on to higher levels.

I would like to say this to notify you that in the future there will be many articles that come out. Most of them will be re-analysis. I am doing an article now called "To Re-analyze Black Capitalism", but I'm not going to go into that because it's a long rap. But I think this is the kind of thing we're involved in and we'll judge how successful we are by whether we can take the community with us.

I was warned when I got up here that it would be more appropriate for a question-and-answer period so I guess that we'll start now because I'm subject to go on and on.

QUESTION: I would like to know in your Re-Evaluation of your former stance in relationship to the community, in what ways do you expect to merge or bring together the community of the Catholic Church into the Black Panther Party?

MINISTER OF DEFENSE: First that I say that we can't change the reality, or direct it, or harness the forces until we know them. We have to gather information about it. We can gather information about the church by experiencing the church. As a matter of fact that is how we gain facts, through empirical evidence, observation and experience. So in order to do this we have to go there. You see the only laboratory in society we have is the community itself, and we view ourselves as not only scientists but also activists.

Now we say we try to merge theory

with practice. So we're going to churches now. I went to church last week for the first time in 10 years, I guess. We took our children with us. We have a youth institute, the Samuel Napier Youth Institute. We have about 30 children now and we took them to church and involved ourselves. We plan to involve ourselves in many community activities, going through the behavior the church goes through in order to contribute to the community. We also hope to influence the church, as I'm sure the church will influence us. Remember that we said that even when whole societies and cultures meet they are both modified by each other. And I am saying that the very fact that we're there is the new ingredient in the church and we know that we will be affected, and we hope that they will be affected. But I warn you that we hope that we will have more effect than you.

Just briefly I mentioned our Youth Institute. We have children from 3 to 14, most of them have already been kicked out of schools and we have a shortage of facilities because the hard core Black community or what we want to be the community now is just an aggregate. People who happen to be Black.

We are teaching them first what I mentioned before, bourgeois skills. This is a necessary thing for us to learn, in order for us to understand the phenomena around us, the society.

On the second hand, we don't like the way the skills have been used, so we're going to use them a different way. Thirdly, our children are not going to withdraw. As far as I'm concerned I don't like parochial schools, I don't like separate schools, but I think that sometimes you have to use a strategy, just as the Black Panther Party is a Black organization. We know that we live in a world of many cultures and ethnic groups and we all interconnect in one way or another. We say that we are the contradiction to the reactionary western values, but we cannot separate because we're here. Technology is too far advanced for us to isolate ourselves in any geographical location--the jet can get there too fast and so can the early-bird TV set -- so what we have to do is share the control of these devices.

So far as our children are concerned the only reason they are at this separate school is the public schools were not giving them the correct education. They can hardly learn to read and write. I don't want them to end up as I did. I only learned how to read after I was 17 and this will not happen to them. I've only been reading for about 10 years or so, and that's not very good--I don't read very good. Anyway our children, just as we're going back to the church, our whole plan is for our children not to graduate from our school and live in a fantasy that everyone has. The effort is to keep them in there just as long as it will take

for them to go back into the school in order to organize it and make the school relevant. In other words we're going to send them back into the wilderness, but we're going to send them with their purse and their scribes with them this time.

QUESTION: When David Hilliard spoke to the National Committee of Black Churchmen that met in Berkeley, he called the preachers who were gathered there a bunch of pimps and motherfuckers, and bootlicking pimps and motherfuckers, which is information that never should have been made public anyway. And he threatened that if the preachers did not come around that the Panthers would off some of the preachers. Imagine that if you're not able to influence the Black church as much as you think that you will, will the Panther Party return to this particular stance?

MINISTER OF DEFENSE: If you understood my talk, the Black Panther Party will not take the separate individual stand. We'll only take the stand of the community because we're interested in what the community will do and will do to get themselves liberation. We will not be arrogant and we wouldn't have the most rudimentary knowledge if we didn't know that we cannot bring about the change. It was very wrong and almost criminal for some people in the Party to make the mistake to make that the Black Panther Party would overthrow even the police force. It ended up with the war between the police



and the Panthers, and if there is a war, it needs to be between the community and the reactionary establishment or else we're isolating ourselves.

As far as what David Hilliard said, what it did was alienate you, and that's what you're talking about. So therefore it alienated us also, it put us in a void where blood was spilled from one end of this country to the other, our blood, while the community watched. Our help watched on, you see? But it was more our fault than theirs, because we were out there saying that we were going to lead them into a change. But we can not lead them into a change if they will not go. As a matter of fact, we cannot exist individually if we don't band together to resist the genocide against all of us. So just as I criticize David Hilliard, I criticize myself, because I knew that stuff was going on and I argued against it, I didn't leave the Party and finally the change came about.

And so what I say about it is that I understand, and the reason that I didn't leave was that it wasn't an outrage to my humanity even though I cringed everytime. Because I understood that he did it not out of hatred but because of love. He did it because he was outraged by the church's inactivity, as you're outraged (not you, but you in the Plural), outraged at this situation, and he was outraged, of course, because of your isolation. So we're all in the same boat; so when we end up in the same boat that means we're unified right there. 120

THANK YOU VERY MUCH

SF 157-1203  
JLC/kle

On May 30, 1971, San Francisco radio station KDIS broadcasted what it reported to be a tape of Subject's speech at the Black Odyssey Festival. A recording of this broadcast was made and the content is essentially the same as the foregoing excerpt from the BPP newspaper.

On May 26, 1971, SF T-6 reported that Professor J. HERMAN BLAKE was editing the transcript of the speech given by Subject at the Black Odyssey Festival and when BLAKE had completed it the transcript would be published in the BPP newspaper.

J. HERMAN BLAKE is a professor of sociology at University of California, Santa Cruz, California, and is presently on sabbatical while working on his doctoral thesis. He is a close associate and advisor of Subject and is currently assisting Subject in the writing of a biography of Subject and the BPP.

## 2. Cancelled Appearances

- a. Cuyahoga Community College  
Cleveland, Ohio  
April 24, 1971

Arrangements have been made for Subject to speak at Cuyahoga Community College, Cleveland, Ohio, on April 24, 1971, at 8 p.m. His speech is being sponsored by the Black Liberation Front (BLF), a local black extremist student organization at that college. All arrangements will be handled through the Black Affairs Department of the college and accommodations for 3,000 persons have been requested.

SF T-12  
April 15, 1971



SF 157-1203  
JLC/kle

On April 24, 1971, Subject indicated he was not going to appear in Cleveland on that date but reason for his not appearing is not known. Subject attended funeral services for former BPP member SAM NAPIER on the morning April 24, 1971, at Oakland.

SF T-2  
April 24, 1971

b. University of the Redlands  
Redlands, California  
April 27, 1971

Subject is scheduled to make an appearance at the University of the Redlands, Redlands, California, on April 27, 1971.

SF T-11  
April 22, 1971

On April 26, 1971, Subject stated that he would definitely make the appearance at the University of the Redlands and that he does not want anymore speeches cancelled the day before they are to be made. He indicated the BPP is low on funds and need the money they would get from his making speeches.

SF T-6  
April 26, 1971

On April 27, 1971, Subject was in Oakland, California, all day and did not appear at the University of the Redlands as scheduled. Reason for Subject not appearing at the University of the Redlands is not known.

SF T-6  
April 27, 1971

SF 157-1203  
JLC/kle

c. University of California  
Irvine, California  
May 11, 1971

Arrangements have been finalized for an appearance for Subject at University of California, Irvine, on May 11, 1971. Subject is to speak in connection with Black Cultural Week activities being held at that school during the period May 9 through May 16, 1971. Subject is to receive a \$1,500 fee for this appearance.

SF T-4  
May 3, 1971

Subject cancelled his appearance at the University of California at Irvine on May 11, 1971. Reason for the cancellation is not known; however, it may be because Subject was planning to travel to New Haven, Connecticut, to see BPP Chairman BOBBY SEALE.

SF T-11  
May 11, 1971

SF 157-1203  
JLC/kle

C. Writings

1. Articles for "The Black Panther" Newspaper
  - a. "Statement"

In an article entitled "Statement" published in the May 1, 1971, issue of "The Black Panther" Subject outlined the present goals and community survival programs of the BPP. Following is the article:

# STATEMENT

BY

HUEY P. NEWTON

MINISTER OF DEFENSE

OF

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY,  
AND SERVANT OF THE PEOPLE

The original vision of the Black Panther Party was to serve the needs of the oppressed people in our communities and defend them against their oppressors. When the Party was initiated we knew that these goals would raise the consciousness of the people and motivate them to move more firmly for their total liberation. We also recognized that we live in a country which has become one of the most repressive governments in the world even to the point of imperialist exploitation in communities all over the world. We did not expect such a repressive government to stand by idly while the Black Panther Party went forward to the goal of serving the people. We expected repression.

We knew, as a revolutionary vanguard, repression would be the reaction of our oppressors; but we recognized that the task of the revolutionist is difficult and his life is short.

We were prepared then, as we are now, to give our all in the interest of oppressed people. We expected the repression to come from outside forces, which have long held our communities in subjection. However, the ideology of dialectical materialism helped us to understand that the contradictions surrounding the Party would create a force that would move us toward our goals. We also expected contradictions within the Party, for the oppressors use infiltrators and provocateurs to help them reach their evil ends. Even when the contradictions come from formerly loyal members of the Party, we see them as part of the process of development, rather than in the negative terms the oppressor's media use to interpret them. Above all, we knew that through it all the Party would survive.

The Party would survive because it had the love and support of the people who saw their true interests expressed in the actions of the Party. The Party would also survive because it would be a political vehicle which continued to voice the interests of the people and serve as their advocates.

The importance of a structured political vehicle has always been apparent

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THE BLACK PANTHER, SATURDAY, MAY 1, 1971



to us. When we went to Sacramento, we went for the purpose of educating the people and beginning the building of a permanent political vehicle to serve their true interests. In our most recent communication with both the North and South Vietnamese Revolutionary Governments, they pointed out that they understood what we were doing and saw it as the correct strategy. They said that a "structured organization is related to politics as a shadow to a man." We recognize that the political machine in America has consistently required Black people to support it, through paying taxes and fighting in wars; but that same machine consistently refuses to serve the interests of the Black community. One of the problems is that the community does not have a structured organization or vehicle which serves its needs and represents the people's interest. You can no more have effective politics without a structured organization, than you can have a man without his shadow. They go together and are necessary to each other. Oppressed Black people -- the lumpenproletariat -- did not have a structured organization to represent their true interests until the Black Panther Party arose from within the community, motivated by the needs and conditions of the people.

Across the country there have been coalitions of Black people and Black caucuses, but these have not served the people as political vehicles. They have ~~merely~~ served as bourgeois structures to get Black candidates into

political office. Once elected, the machinery used to thrust these people into office simply passed out of existence or became ineffective, insofar as serving the true interests of the Black oppressed people.

A truly revolutionary vehicle which will survive the repression it encounters daily is made up of a number of characteristics. First of all there is a small, but dedicated cadre of workers who are willing to devote their full time to the goals of the organization. Secondly, there is a distinct organized structure through which the cadre can function. It is this combination of structure and dedicated cadre which can maintain the machinery for meeting the people's needs. In this way a printing press can be maintained to review the events of the day and interpret them in a manner which serves the people. It can circulate information about daily phenomena and educate the people as to their true meaning. It can carry out programs of service which deliver to the people basic needs which are not satisfied elsewhere, because the lumpenproletariat are the victims of oppression and exploitation. A cadre and a structure, however, are not what makes the political vehicle a revolutionary one. It is the revolutionary concepts which define and interpret phenomena, and establish the goals toward which the political vehicle will work. A revolutionary vehicle is in fact a revolutionary concept set into motion by a dedicated cadre through a particular organized structure.

Such a vehicle can survive re-

pression because it can move in the necessary manner at the appropriate time. It can go underground if the conditions require; and it can raise up again. But it will always be motivated by love and dedication to the interest of the oppressed communities. Therefore the people will insure its survival, for in that survival is the service of their needs. The structured and organized vehicle will guarantee the weathering of the test of internal and external contradictions.

The responsibility of such a political vehicle is clear. It is to function as a machine which serves the true interests of the oppressed people. This means that it must be ever aware of the needs of the communities of the oppressed, and develop and execute the necessary programs to meet those needs. The Black Panther Party has done this through its basic Ten-Point Program. However, we recognize that revolution is a process and we cannot offer the people conclusions--we must be ready to respond creatively to new conditions and new understandings. Therefore we have developed our Free Breakfast Program, our Free Health Clinics, our Clothing and Shoe Programs, and our Busses to Prisons Program, as well as other programs, in response to the obvious needs of Black People. The overwhelmingly favorable response to these programs in every community is evidence that they are serving the true interest of the people.

Serving the true interest of the people also means that the political vehicle must stand between the people and the

oppressive forces which prey upon them in such a manner that the administrators will have to give the appropriate response. Such articulation requires us to have a political organ which will express the interests of the people and interpret phenomena for them. The existence of such a political vehicle is justified only so long as it serves the true interests of the people.

Serving the true interests of the people, however, does not mean that the vehicle is simply a reflector of public opinion, because the opinions of the people have often been molded and directed against their true interests by slick politicians and exploitative educators. Their diversionary tactics often lead the people down blind alleys or onto tangents which take them away from their true goals. We can easily see this when we apply the concept of American democracy to the Black community.

Democracy in America (bourgeois democracy) means nothing more than the domination of the majority over the minority. That is why Black people can cast votes all year long, but if the majority is against us, we suffer. Then the politicians and educators try to deceive the community with such euphemisms as "It's rule by the majority, but the rights of the minority are protected." If, in fact, participating in the democratic process in America were in the interest of the Black community, there would be no need for a



Free Breakfast Program, there would be no need for Free Health Clinics or any of the other programs we have developed to meet the people's needs. The rights of the minority are protected by the standards of a bourgeois government, and anything which is not in their interest is not permitted. This may be democratic for the majority, but for the minority it has the same effect as fascism. When the majority decreed that we should be slaves, we were slaves--where was the democracy in slavery for us? When the majority decreed that we should pay taxes, fight and die in wars, and be given inferior and racist education against our interests, we got all of these things. Where is democracy for us in any of it. Our children still die, our youth suffer from malnutrition, our middle-aged people suffer from sickle-cell anemia, and our elderly face unbearable poverty and hardship because they reach the twilight period of their lives with nothing to sustain them through these difficult times. Where is the democracy in any of this for Black people? Democracy means only that the majority will use us when they need us and cast us aside when they do not need us. A true understanding of the working and effect of American democracy for Black people will reveal most clearly that it is just the same as fascism for us. Our true interests and needs are not being served.

The political vehicle of the people must be guided by a consistent ideology which represents the true interests of

the people. We see an ideology as nothing more than a systematic and organized set of principles for analyzing and interpreting objective phenomena. An ideology can only be accepted as valid, if it delivers true understanding of the phenomena which affect the lives of the people. The development of a wide variety of truths about the community, its internal development, and the external forces surrounding it, will lead then to a philosophy which will help orient us toward goals which are in the true interest of the people.

The Black Panther Party was born in a period of stress when Black people were moving away from the philosophy and strategy of non-violent action toward the sterner actions. We dared to believe that we could offer the community a permanent political vehicle which would serve their true interests by meeting their needs and advocating their interests. We have met many foes; we have seen many enemies. We have been slandered, kidnapped, gagged, jailed and murdered. We know now, more than ever before, that the will of the people is greater than the technology and repression of those who are against the interests of the people. Therefore we know that we can and will continue to serve the people and educate the people.

**ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE**

Huey P. Newton

Minister of Defense

Black Panther Party,

Servant of the People.

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b. "Black Capitalism Re-analyzed"

An article entitled "Black Capitalism Re-analyzed" written by Subject was published in the June 5, 1971, issue of "The Black Panther". The article begins by defining power not as its usual meaning, that is, control over people or things, but as the ability to define phenomena and to make these phenomena act in a desired manner. Subject claims that the BPP had always merged theory and practice to serve the best interests of the community but admits that they were not always successful in carrying this through. He admitted the Party defected from the community by lapsing into revolutionary cultism, which, while it might have been heroic and courageous, did not lead the people to higher consciousness. He went into a long discourse on what a revolution is and what a revolutionary was supposed to do. Next came several paragraphs on dialectics, the unity of opposites and so forth.

Subject quotes point number three of the original "Ten Point Program" ("We want an end to the robbery by the capitalist or black community"). According to Subject, it is the goal of the BPP to negate capitalism as an exploiter of the people. The Subject mentions the BPP set up various community programs, naming the breakfast for children, free clothing program, free health clinics, the Shoe Factory, and the "Sickle-Cell" anemia testing and research programs. Subject stated the BPP calls these programs survival programs, meaning survival pending revolution. Subject points out that money for the survival programs was received from big white capitalists and admits that this tactic on the part of the BPP was wrong.

Subject said that the black businessmen should contribute to the survival programs of the BPP and in return for the contribution the BPP would carry advertisements in its paper free so that the people would know whom to support. At the same time the community would know those



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who refuse to support the programs for survival and they would be guided accordingly. In conclusion, Subject predicted that by following his advice, black capitalism would be transformed from a relationship of exploitation of the community to a relationship of service to the community which would contribute to the survival of everyone.

The first page of the June 5, 1971, issue of "The Black Panther" carried a picture of Subject in the middle of a dollar bill.

The complete text of Subject's article is attached as an enclosure to this report.

On June 11, 1971, it was learned that the article captioned "Black Capitalism Reanalyzed" by Subject had appeared in the June 5, 1971, issue of "The Black Panther" had been rewritten and edited by Professor J. HERMAN BLAKE prior to its publication.

SF T-2  
June 11, 1971

c. "A Revolutionary Analysis of  
Sweet Sweetback's Baadasssss Song"

On June 11, 1971, Professor J. HERMAN BLAKE was writing an article for Subject to be printed in the June 19, 1971, issue of "The Black Panther". This article will be a critique of the movie Sweet Sweetback and taken from notes made by Subject and Subject's secretary, GWEN HODGES, when they had viewed the film.

SF T-2  
June 11, 1971

The June 19, 1971, issue of "The Black Panther" devotes 12 of its 20 pages to an analysis by Subject of the

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JLC/kle

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movie Sweet Sweetback. He described the movie as "the first truly revolutionary black film made" and said portrays a black man who kills several police officers and escapes in the final scene. Subject's analysis notes that producer-director MELVIN VAN PEEBLES, a black man, makes those actions most "ecstatic" and that "he is encouraging the people to engage in . . . he is advocating a bloody overthrow". Especially "ecstatic" to Subject is the scene of ghetto unity when the film's "hero" is rescued from police by blacks who volunteer to wash the officer's patrol car - they wash it with gasoline and set it ablaze. Subject compares the film's portrayal of policemen being killed with "taking the sacrament". He describes a scene when the black protagonist uses "his handcuffs as a weapon against the oppressor rather than as the tool of submission" and "he downs both the policemen, almost cutting off their heads." This reminds Subject of Frantz Fanon's scene in The Wretched of the Earth depicting the peasant cracking "the settler's head open. Then the blood spurts across his face, and it is the only baptism he ever remembered." The lesson for the Panthers, according to Subject, is that this "is the true route to liberation, stern action when the situation demands that you seize the time."

Several photographs supposedly taken from the movie accompanied Subject's article.

The complete article by Subject and an introduction by BPP Chairman BOBBY SEALE is attached as an enclosure to this report.

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2. Forthcoming Book by NEWTON

On April 13, 1971, a representative of Harcourt, Brace and Jananovich, Inc., a publishing company in New York City, New York, attempted to contact Subject at BPP National Headquarters, Oakland, California, but Subject was not available at that time. The representative requested that Subject contact him in connection with a book Subject and J. HERMAN BLAKE are writing which is to be published by his firm.

SF T-4  
April 13, 1971

As of May 1, 1971, J. HERMAN BLAKE was continuing in his assistance to Subject in writing a book about Subject and the BPP, and the book is reportedly coming along just fine. Subject has requested that BLAKE include in the book the text of some speeches made by Subject, especially the speech in which Subject told of the defection of the Party from the community.

SF T-6  
May 1, 1971

On April 23, 1971, Professor J. HERMAN BLAKE stated that the publication date of the book he is writing on the life of Subject is at least one year away.

SF T-3  
May 14, 1971

D. Travels of NEWTON

On April 28, 1971, Subject traveled from San Francisco International Airport, San Francisco, California,

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to New York City, New York, on American Airlines (AA) Flight 18 at 10:15 p.m., and arrived in New York City at 6:15 p.m., April 29, 1971. Purpose of the travel was to tape Subject's appearance on the "David Frost Television Show". Expenses for the travel and accommodations were paid by the Frost program. Subject was accompanied by

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[redacted] and [redacted]  
[redacted]

SF T-2  
April 28, 1971

FBI Agents  
New York City, New York  
April 29, 1971

Subject returned to San Francisco from New York City at 2:10 a.m., April 30, 1971, on AA Flight 49.

[redacted]  
San Francisco International Airport  
April 30, 1971

Subject traveled from San Francisco to New York City on AA Flight 18, departing at 10:15 p.m., May 10, 1971.

[redacted]  
San Francisco International Airport  
May 10, 1971

After Subject arrived in New York City on May 11, 1971, he was to proceed to New Haven, Connecticut, where he was to attend the trial of [redacted]

SF T-2  
May 10, 1971



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Subject departed New York City en route to San Francisco on AA Flight 49 at 11:30 p.m., May 12, 1971, to arrive San Francisco International Airport at 2:30 a.m., May 13, 1971.

FBI Agent  
New York City  
May 12, 1971

Subject arrived at San Francisco International Airport on schedule on May 13, 1971.

SF T-6  
May 13, 1971

On the morning of May 14, 1971, Subject traveled from Oakland, California, to Santa Cruz, California, via personal automobile. Subject was to visit [redacted] at [redacted] residence, [redacted]

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SF T-2  
May 14, 1971

Subject arrived at the residence of [redacted] in Santa Cruz on the morning of May 14, 1971. During that afternoon, Subject accompanied [redacted] to the campus of University of California at Santa Cruz (UCSC), where they went to the Instructional Services Center. It is understood Subject made a video tape to be used for a class of [redacted] or for possible publicity for the book [redacted] is writing for Subject. It was rumored Subject would attend a meeting of Black Students Alliance, the black student organization on the UCSC campus with [redacted] during the evening of May 14, 1971. The meeting was to be held off campus, but the location was not known. (S)(u)

SF T-13  
May 14, 1971

SF 157-1203  
JLC/kle

On May 14, 1971, Subject was on the campus of UCSC with [redacted] and Subject and [redacted] made a video tape approximately one hour in length which reportedly was to be used for a community program developed by [redacted] in Richmond, California. The tape was made in the Instructional Services Center at UCSC.

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[redacted]  
Santa Cruz, California  
June 2, 1971

Subject returned to Oakland from Santa Cruz on the early afternoon of May 15, 1971.

SF T-6  
May 15, 1971

Subject traveled from Oakland to Los Angeles, California, on Pacific Southwest Airlines Flight 541 at 8:30 p.m., June 2, 1971. Purpose of this travel was to visit with [redacted] and [redacted]

*BENT & SIDER*  
SF T-2  
June 2, 1971

*MA 11-12*  
[redacted]  
[redacted] is a sympathizer and a contributor to the BPP.

[redacted] is [redacted]

On the night of June 2, 1971, Subject arrived at the [redacted] residence, [redacted] and is believed to have spent the night there.

SF T-14  
June 2 - 3, 1971

SF 157-1203  
JLC/kle

Subject returned to Oakland from Los Angeles on a Pacific Southwest Airlines Flight at 2:10 p.m., June 3, 1971.

SF T-6  
June 3, 1971

On June 6, 1971, Subject departed San Francisco International Airport on AA Flight 18, at 10:15 p.m., en route to New York City. He was accompanied by [redacted]

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[redacted] and [redacted] carried two large metal film containers.

FBI Agent  
San Francisco  
June 6, 1971

Purpose of Subject's trip to New York City was to meet with [redacted] of the movie Sweet Sweetback. Subject took a BPP film entitled The Death of Fred Hampton to show [redacted] in effort to arrange for the showing of the Hampton film as a co-feature with the [redacted] movie.

SF T-2  
June 6, 1971

Subject returned to San Francisco from New York City on AA Flight 145 at 5:40 p.m., June 8, 1971.

FBI Agents  
San Francisco  
June 8, 1971

Subject traveled from Oakland to Los Angeles on Pacific Southwest Airlines Flight 340 at 1:15 p.m., July 11, 1971. Purpose of this travel is to attend a luncheon

SF 157-1203  
JLC/kle

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on the afternoon of July 11, 1971, at the residence  
of [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

SF T-2  
July 11, 1971

SF T-4  
July 11, 1971

Subject arrived in a taxi at the residence of [REDACTED] at approximately 3:15 p.m., July 11, 1971. At approximately 4:00 p.m., Subject and [REDACTED] left the [REDACTED] residence and proceeded to [REDACTED] residence in Beverly Hills. Subject departed Los Angeles on late evening of July 11, 1971, to return to Oakland.

SF T-14  
July 11, 1971

Subject arrived in Oakland from Los Angeles during the early morning hours of July 12, 1971.

SF T-6  
July 12, 1971



SF 157-1203  
JLC/kle

E. Connection with Stronghold Consolidated Productions,  
Inc. (SCPI)

Stronghold Consolidated Productions Inc.,  
(SCPI) is a BPP corporation in New York  
which is utilized to handle BPP financial  
transactions.

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On April 20, 1971, Subject had reportedly contacted [redacted] of SCPI in New York City and advised [redacted] he was expecting the receipt of bonds valued at \$50,000 which were to be sent to [redacted] was cautioned that this money was not to be used to pay outstanding bills.

Reportedly, Subject told [redacted] he was going to concentrate on building the BPP into a self-reliant Party until "We get back in public favor". Subject noted that at this time the Party is paying \$2,000 a month in rents and proposed that he wanted to start buying one or two houses every week and stated, "We will pay rent to ourselves" Subject advised that he intended to discuss this further with [redacted] of New York.

Subject is reported to have informed [redacted] that when he next saw [redacted] he would be accompanied by his "administrative assistant", who knew all about matters of this type. Subject did not at this time identify his so-called administrative assistant.

SF T-2  
April 20, 1971

On April 20, 1971, subsequent to the discussion with [redacted] Subject reportedly held a conference at his apartment attended by [redacted] and [redacted] of the BPP. [redacted] also joined this group.

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[redacted] has been publicly identified as [redacted] BPP Chief of Staff. She is one of the persons authorized to sign for the BPP commercial account and community program account located at the Emeryville Branch of the Wells Fargo Bank.

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[redacted]

[redacted]

*Ch. F.*  
[redacted]

SF T-6

April 20, 1971

Later on April 20, 1971, Subject again met with [redacted] who was at the time accompanied by [redacted]

SF 157-1203  
JLC/kle

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

SF T-2  
April 20, 1971

As of April 23, 1971, [REDACTED] had been  
in contact with Subject and advised him that she had just  
received a special delivery from [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

(Source identified this as a

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

U

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

U

[REDACTED]

SF 157-1203  
JLC/kle

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] U

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Subject advised her that he would call [REDACTED]  
concerning this matter.

[REDACTED] has been publicly identified  
as a member of the BPP affiliated with the  
San Francisco BPP chapter.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] U

[REDACTED]

SF T-2  
April 23, 1971

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] U

SF T-4  
April 26, 1971



SF 157-1203  
JLC/kle

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SF T-2  
April 26, 1971

On April 27, 1971, Subject was reportedly in  
contact with [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] has been identified as  
[REDACTED] who is assisting  
the BPP in setting up and handling various  
business transactions. U

SF T-6  
April 27, 1971

On April 30, 1971, [REDACTED] had been in a  
discussion with Subject and reportedly made the statement  
that [REDACTED] No  
further information concerning this meeting is known at  
this time.

SF T-2  
April 30, 1971

On May 1, 1971, Subject was in contact with

SF 157-1203  
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SF T-6  
May 1, 1971

[redacted]  
[redacted] he was going to name the  
new corporation "Facade". [redacted]

Subject [redacted]  
[redacted] informed him that he was going to name the  
new corporation "Facade Inc." and that it is going to be a  
New York corporation. [redacted]

[redacted] has been identified  
as a former member of the BPP and  
[redacted]

[redacted] has been identified as [redacted]  
[redacted]

SF T-2  
May 2, 1971

SF 157-1203  
JLC/kle

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[REDACTED]

This subsidiary was reportedly desired by Subject for the corporate entity used in directing the up and coming BPP clothing factory.

[REDACTED] the name Facade, Inc. could not be used since it apparently had been used previously. Therefore, Subject subsequently came up with the name Facade Productions, Inc. or Facade Consolidated Productions, Inc. preferably the former of the two.

Subject [REDACTED] wanted to set up an additional subsidiary corporation, Subterfuge, Inc., or Subterfuge Productions, Inc. Subject readily admitted he selected this name as the BPP did not intend to specify what was to be produced. Subject stated that the officers in the new corporations were to be [REDACTED] and [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] and [REDACTED]

SF 157-1203  
JLC/kle

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It appears that Subject desired various BPP properties in the East to be included in the assets of Stronghold or possibly one or both of the new corporations Facade and Subterfuge. The specific locations of the properties involved are not yet available but may have included some now owned by the Party and some presently being acquired. In this regard it was Subject's intention that amounts due for taxes be included in the mortgages which seems to refer to new properties that would be purchased. Subject went on to include into the Stronghold assets, the house in New Haven recently acquired apparently by mortgage, as well as properties in Boston and New York, all of which are fully owned by the Party. Subject wanted the New York property repaired as soon as funds were available and this undoubtedly was the location where SAM NAPIER was recently killed and was damaged by fire.

Subject reportedly also wanted to have a discussion with [ ] and/or [ ] about



SF 157-1203  
JLC/kle

obtaining a group insurance plan for the different branches of the Party and it appears this would be handled by Stronghold.

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SF T-2  
May 3 - 4, 1971

On May 7, 1971, an unidentified male individual had been in contact with Subject concerning the rent of a barbecue stand. This individual reportedly advised that the rent on this barbecue stand would be between \$50 and \$100 a month. Subject said that this operation sounded good to him and he would have [redacted] go over there to look at it in the morning.

b6  
b7C

SF T-2  
May 7, 1971

[redacted] has been identified as an associate of HUEY P. NEWTON who appears to be involved in [redacted]

SF 157-1203  
JLC/kle

On May 12, 1971, Subject was in contact with [redacted] advising her that one of his new corporations is going to make little bags like airline stewardesses use. Subject also mentioned that he had conferred with eight doctors who are working in the Berkeley Health Clinic.

b6  
b7C

SF T-2  
May 12, 1971

On May 15, 1971, [redacted] was again in contact with Subject and Subject reportedly told her that he wanted to meet with [redacted] within the next two or three weeks to talk about the "press thing", possibly referring to the printing press that Subject wanted to purchase for the Party.

On May 15, 1971, at the direction of Subject, [redacted] contacted [redacted] office asking his secretary to advise him not to use the name of [redacted] as the third name in the new corporation. [redacted] reportedly stated that another name would be given to [redacted] to use in [redacted] place.

SF T-2  
May 15, 1971

On May 18, 1971, an unidentified male individual was in contact with Subject, stating that a person identified only as [redacted] had called about the press. This unidentified individual stated that [redacted] would call him on Friday with a decision as to whether or not that can donate it to a "worthy cause". Subject reportedly asked if that was the only thing that was in the building and this unidentified male individual stated that it was. Subject reportedly then stated that they needed the building and asked this individual if they would donate the building, too. The unidentified male individual stated that they would not donate the building, and Subject then told him to find out about a lease with an option to buy. This individual

SF 157-1203  
JLC/kle

then stated that it was a "huge" building and Subject reportedly replied that he needs a huge building with what the paper is going to be. Then the unknown individual started talking about the garment plant and advised Subject that he is running into trouble with the wiring. He stated that his original idea was to run an extension cord through the ceiling and get power upstairs, but it did not turn out to be that simple. Subject advised him to have it done and send him the bill.

On May 18, 1971, an unknown individual was in contact with Subject advising him that he had found a shop available at 12th and Harrison which had 19 sewing machines in it and would cost \$300 or \$600 per month. This unidentified individual said that the present occupants had a contract to make bullet-proof vests. Subject reportedly told this individual that he wanted that building, but when asked if he had the money yet, Subject stated "no", but that he (Subject) was to meet with a man at 4 o'clock on this date.

Later on that date, [redacted] was in contact with Subject concerning the above-described building at 12th and Harrison, and stated that he had learned that the owner wants \$5,600 which will be one-third down and \$300 per month. [redacted] also stated that the owner will give them proprietary rights to the property. Subject reportedly commented that this individual was not giving them very much. [redacted] then inquired as to whether a deposit had been given to [redacted] for the house on 29th Street, and he was informed that there was no cash up on the house on 29th Street yet. ✓

b6  
b7C

SF T-2  
May 18, 1971

SF 157-1203  
JLC/ksb

On May 19, 1971, [redacted] was again in contact with Subject inquiring as to whether he had yet made a decision as to whether or not the Party wanted the place on Market Street. Subject reportedly stated that he thought that he had, but it seems to just be going around in a circle. [redacted]

b6  
b7C  
b7D

On May 19, 1971, [redacted] was once again in contact with Subject advising him that he had received some bonds back from [redacted]

SFT-2  
May 19, 1971

On May 24, 1971, [redacted] was in contact with Subject, telling him that he had mailed some papers to Subject regarding a Panther film, which is believed to be contractual agreements in connection with the BPP film entitled The Death Of Fred Hampton. This film was reportedly produced by MIKE GRAY and HOWARD ALK.



SF 157-1203  
JLC/ksb

b6  
b7C  
b7D

[REDACTED]

It was learned that the desires of Subject are that another subsidiary be considered in the Stronghold conglomerate, this one utilizing the name of "Climax". In this regard, Subject stated that "Climax" might use another plant, not further identified, and [REDACTED] has told Subject he saw no problem with this and said the "plant" could be used with any of the corporations already formed.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

SF 157-1203  
JLC/ksb

On June 2, 1971 [ ] was in contact with Subject and Subject reportedly asked him if he knew about the Fred Hampton film and the [ ] "thing" where they wanted a 60% - 40% deal. Subject reportedly said that the 40% would go to [ ] for the use of his theater. Subject wanted to know if that would "sabotage" other distributors from handling the film. [ ] reportedly answered that he did not think so because Subject would still be dealing with Chicago and it would be secure with them. Subject then asked [ ] if he knew the distributors of the film entitled Sweet Sweetback, because he is interested in attempting to get the Fred Hampton film to run with that film wherever it is being played. [ ] stated that the problem of running two films together is that a distributor wants the prime time for his film. [ ] closed the conversation with Subject by stating he would contact the distributor of Sweet Sweetback and see what arrangements could be made.

b6  
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b7D

[ ]

[ ]

[ ]

Subject reportedly told [ ] that he wants him to hold the paper money and let the leases go under for the houses in general. Subject stated that they wanted to buy their houses and not pay rent.

SF 157-1203  
JLC/ksb

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b7C  
b7D

SFT-2  
July 7, 1971

SFT-2  
July 9, 1971

On July 15, 1971, investigation at Albany, New York, revealed that on May 3, 1971, a Certificate of Incorporation had been filed for "Facade Productions, Incorporated". This corporation was formed under Section 402 of the Business Corporation Law in the State of New York. Information received indicated only that this new corporation's purpose was general in nature to manufacture, design, style, produce, etc., and deal in all articles and items of men's, women's, and children's wearing apparel, clothing, garments, etc.

It was further indicated that the office of the corporation would be located in the City of New York, and the address to which the Secretary of State should mail copy of process in any action or proceeding against the corporation was: Care of Lubell, Lubell, Fine and Schaap, 103 Park Avenue, New York, New York 10017. The only signatures appearing on these corporation

C O N F I D E N T I A L

SF 157-1203  
JLC/ksb

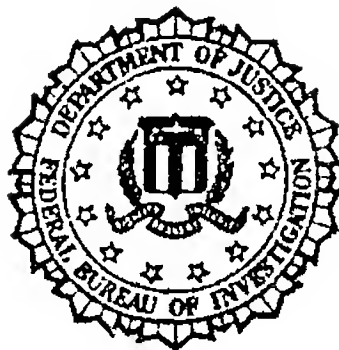
b6  
b7C

papers were that of [redacted] who signed the papers,  
and [redacted] who notarized [redacted] signature.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L





UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
San Francisco, California

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

July 29, 1971

Title HUEY PERCY NEWTON

Character RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK  
PANTHER PARTY

Reference San Francisco report of  
SA [redacted]  
dated and captioned as above.

b6  
b7C

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities  
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable  
information in the past.

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159

Black Panther Intercommunal News Service, June 5, 1971

# BLACK CAPITALISM RE-ANALYZED

BY HUEY P. NEWTON,  
MINISTER OF DEFENSE BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
SERVANT OF THE PEOPLE

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DATE 6/26/87 BY SP5c/lms

~~This~~ is a dialogue in our continuing discussion of the new thrust of the Black Panther Party as we begin to carry out the original vision of the Party. When we coined the expression "All Power to the People", we had in mind emphasizing the word "Power", for we recognize that the will to power is the basic drive of man. But it is incorrect to seek power over people. We have been subjected to the dehumanizing power of exploitation and racism for hundreds of years; and the Black community has its own will to power also. What we seek, however, is not power over people, but the power to control our own destiny. For us the true definition of power is not in terms of how many people you can control, to us power is the ability to first of all define phenomena, and secondly the ability to make these phenomena act in a desired manner.

We see then that power has a dual character--we cannot simply identify and define phenomena without acting, for to do so is to become an arm-chair philosopher. And when Bobby and I left Merritt College to organize brothers on the block, we did so because the college students were too content to sit around and analyze without acting. On the other hand, power includes action, for it is making phenomena perform in the desired manner. But action without thinking and theory is also incorrect, for if the social forces at work in the community have not been correctly analyzed and defined, ~~how~~ can you control them in such a way that

they act in a desired manner. So the Black Panther Party has always merged theory and practice in such a way as to serve the true interests of the community.

In merging theory with practice we recognized that it was necessary to develop a theory which was not good for one time and place and not another. We wanted to develop a system of thinking which was good anywhere--thus it had to be rather abstract. Yet our theory would relate to a concrete analysis of concrete conditions, so that our actions would always be relevant and profitable to the people while at the same time advancing their thinking so that they would move toward a transformation of their situation of exploitation and oppression. So we have always insisted on good theory and good practice; but we have not always been successful in carrying this through.

When the Black Panther Party defected from the Black community, we became, for a while, revolutionary cultists. One of the primary characteristics of a revolutionary cultist is that he despises everyone who has not reached his level of consciousness--or the level of consciousness that he thinks he is at, instead of acting to bring the people to that level. In that way the revolutionary cultist becomes divided from the people--he defects from the community. Instead of serving the people as a vanguard, he becomes a hero. Heroes engage in very ~~courageous~~ actions sometimes, and they often make great sacrifices,



including the supreme sacrifice, but they are still isolated from the people. Their courageous actions and sacrifices do not lead the people to a higher level of consciousness, nor do they produce fundamental changes in the exploitation and oppression of the people. A vanguard, however, will guide the people into higher levels of consciousness and in that way bring them to the point where they will take sterner actions in their own interests and against those who continue to oppress them. As I've said previously, revolution is a process not a conclusion. A true revolutionist will not only take courageous actions, he will also try to advance the people in such a manner that they will transform their situation. That is, delivering power to the people, for the true revolutionist, will help them define the social phenomena in operation in their community and then lead them to the point where they will seize the time and make these phenomena act in a desired manner.

Therefore as revolutionaries, we must recognize the difference between what the people can do and what they will do. They can do anything they desire to do, but they will only take those actions which are consistent with their level of consciousness and their understanding of the situation. When we raise their consciousness, they will understand even more fully what they in fact can do, and they will move on the situation in a courageous manner. This is merging your theory with your practices.

As we focus upon our theoretical analysis of the situation, we can become 3

too abstract and separate from reality; but the people are the reality--they are more in touch with the reality, and most of the time they reluctantly accept the reality. Then they develop certain defense mechanisms to cope with it and manipulate it, believing that it will be like this all the time with little change. What they don't realize is that it is changing all the time, sometimes more slowly than at other times, yet the situation is in a constant state of transformation. And the people lack an ideology, or a system of thinking, which will help them to analyze the changes. Therefore this leaves another power and other interests to shape the changes, rather than making the changes subject to the power of the people.

Therefore it is necessary to develop a system of thinking to analyze things, so we can find out what to do in order to produce a change in the desired manner and direction. Panther ideology is based upon dialectical materialism, which holds that contradictions are the ruling principle of the universe. That is, all phenomena, all social forces have both a positive and negative quality, which are constantly struggling with each other for dominance. These opposing qualities are unified within the same phenomena. It is this unity of the opposites and their continued struggle which gives motion to matter and maintains the constant state of transformation which produces change.

We recognize that these opposites have a dominant-subordinate relationship to each other. A qualitative



transformation occurs when there is a sufficient quantitative increase or decrease in one of these positive and negative or dominant-subordinate qualities. In the inherent struggle of the opposites, in which one of the qualities increases while the other decreases, both forces reach a nodal point and there is a reversal in their dominance. This reversal is a qualitative change. However, because all phenomena have internal contradictions, a new struggle begins and it will eventually bring a new reversal. This is the nature of the constant state of transformation of material phenomena. Our theoretical analysis of history and the present day has given us a better understanding of the contradictions in all phenomena.

When we attempt to integrate our theory with our practice, we must do so with the fullest understanding of this unity of the opposites which gives motion to matter. What we want to do is develop strategies and programs which use this understanding in the true interests of the exploited and oppressed communities. If power is the ability to define phenomena and then make them act in a desired manner, we must constantly exercise such power in the interests of the people. First of all we define or identify the positive and negative qualities in all phenomena in our communities. Secondly, we act to increase the positive side of these phenomena and decrease the negative, until we transform the situation by having the positive completely dominate the negative.

This is what revolution is about. Basically, it is a process of struggle between the old and the new, with the new attempting to gain dominance, while the old struggles to maintain control. In moving to direct and control the social forces active in our communities we are guided only by our ideology and the true interests of the people. We are free of any other controls, because we do not have any vested interests in the status quo. Our interest is to serve the people by helping them transform their reality, rather than reluctantly accepting it.

Point 3 of the original 10-point program of the Black Panther Party is, "We want an end to the robbery by the CAPITALIST of our Black Community." That was our position in October 1966 and it is still our position. We recognize that capitalism is no solution to the problems we face in our communities. Capitalist exploitation is one of the basic causes of our problem. It is the goal of the Black Panther Party to negate capitalism in our communities and in the oppressed communities throughout the world.

However, many people have offered the community Black capitalism as a solution to our problems. We recognize that people in the Black community have no general dislike for the concept of Black capitalism, but this is not because they are in love with capitalism. Not at all. The idea of Black capitalism has come to mean to many people Black control of another one of the

institutions in the community. We see within this characteristic the seeds of the negation of Black capitalism and all capitalism in general. What we must do then is increase the positive qualities until they dominate the negative and therefore transform the situation.

In the past the Black Panther Party took a counter-revolutionary position with our blanket condemnation of Black capitalism. Our strategy should have been to analyze the positive and negative qualities of this phenomenon before making any condemnation. Even though we recognized, and correctly so, that capitalism is no solution or answer, we did not make a truly dialectical analysis of the situation.

We recognized that in order to bring the people to the level of consciousness where they would seize the time, it would be necessary to serve their interests in survival by developing programs which would help them to meet their daily needs. For a long time we have had such programs not only for survival, but for organizational purposes. Now we not only have a breakfast program for school children, we have clothing programs, we have health clinics which provide free medical and dental services, we have programs for prisoners and their families, and we are opening clothing and shoe factories to provide for more of the needs of the community. Most recently we have begun a testing and research program on sickle-cell anemia, and we know that 98 percent of the victims of this disease are Black. To fail to combat this disease is to submit to genocide; to battle it is survival.

All these programs satisfy the deep needs of the community but they are not solutions to our problems. That is why we call them survival programs, meaning survival pending revolution. We say that the survival program of the Black Panther Party is like the survival kit of a sailor stranded on a raft. It helps him to sustain himself until he can get completely out of that situation. So the survival programs are not answers or solutions, but they will help us to organize the community around a true analysis and understanding of their situation. When consciousness and understanding is raised to a high level then the community will seize the time and deliver themselves from the boot of their oppressors.

All our survival programs are free. We have never charged the community a dime to receive the things they need from any of our programs and we will not do so. We will not get caught up in a lot of embarrassing questions or paperwork which alienate the people. If they have a need, we will serve their needs and attempt to get them to understand the true reasons why they are in need in such an incredibly rich land. Survival programs will always be operated without charge to those who need them and benefit by them.

In order to carry out such programs we have always needed money. In the past we received money from wealthy white philanthropists, humanitarians and heirs to the corporate monopolies. At the same time we were engaging in a blanket condemnation of the small, victimized Black capitalists found in



our communities. This tactic was wrong, when we received the money for our survival programs from big white capitalists; and we freely admit to that.

When we say that we see within Black capitalism the seeds of its own negation and the negation of all capitalism, we recognize that the small Black capitalist in our communities has the potential to contribute to the building of the machine which will serve the true interests of the people and end all exploitation. By increasing the positive qualities of the Black capitalist, we may be able to bring about a non-antagonistic solution of his contradiction with the community, while at the same time heightening the oppressed community's contradiction with the large corporate capitalist empire. This will intensify the antagonistic contradiction between the oppressed community and the empire; and by heightening that contradiction, there will subsequently be a violent transformation of the corporate empire. We will do this through our survival programs which have the interest of the community at heart.

We now see the Black capitalist as having a similar relationship to the Black community as the national bourgeoisie have to the people in national wars of decolonization. In wars of decolonization the national bourgeoisie supports the freedom struggles of the people because they recognize that it is in their own selfish interest. Then when the foreign exploiter has been kicked out, the national bourgeoisie

takes his place and continues the exploitation. However, the national bourgeoisie is a weaker group, even though they are exploiters. Therefore the people are in a better position to wipe the national bourgeoisie away after they have assisted the people in wiping out the foreign exploiters. (NOTE: Our analysis of the new conditions in the world, which are revealed in our development of the concept of Reactionary Intercommunalism, indicates that under the present circumstances the national bourgeoisie and their domestic equivalents are in a weaker position now than they were when they were in a state of colonialism or just freed from colonialism. This is because under Reactionary Intercommunalism the national bourgeoisie is in control of a smaller unit (a community) than before. Not only does this make them weaker, it also makes it more likely that a non-antagonistic transformation of their contradiction can take place because the objective interests of the national bourgeoisie are in many ways similar to those of the people who are victimized.)

Since the people see Black capitalism in the community as Black control of local institutions, this is a positive characteristic, because the people can bring more direction and focus to the activities of the capitalist. At the same time the Black capitalist who has the interest of the community at heart will respond to the needs of the people, because this is where his true strength lies. So far as capitalism in general is concerned, the Black capitalist

merely has the status of a victim, because the big white capitalists have the skills, they make the loans, and they in fact control the Black capitalist. If he wants to succeed in his enterprise, the Black capitalist must turn to the community, because he depends on them to make his profit. He needs this strong community support because he cannot become independent of the control of the corporate capitalists who control the large monopolies.

The Black capitalist will be able to support the people through contributing to the survival programs of the Black Panther Party. In contributing to such programs, he will be able to help build the vehicle which will eventually liberate the Black community. He will not be able to deliver the people from their problems, but he will be able to help build the strong political machine which will serve as a revolutionary vanguard and guide the people in their move toward freedom.

Our re-analysis of Black capitalism and its relationship to the community from the perspective of dialectical materialism, and our practical understanding of the needs of the community and the attitudes of the people toward Black capitalism leads us to a new position. Black businesses which have the interests of the community at heart will be able to contribute to the people through the community programs of the Black Panther Party. These free programs will help the community to survive and thus alter the

genocide which is always a threat to our existence here.

In return for these contributions, the Black Panther Party will carry advertisements of these businesses in our paper and urge the community to support them. We will never sell advertising space in the paper, but we will give space in return for contributions to the survival programs which are given free to the community. In this way we will achieve a greater unity of the community of victims, the people who are victimized by the society in general, and the Black capitalists who are victimized by the corporate capitalist monopolies. In this way we will increase the positive qualities of Black capitalism until they dominate the negative qualities, and exploitation will no longer be the reality which the community reluctantly accepts.

The community will see those who support their survival, and, patronize their places of business. At the same time the community will also criticize those who refuse to participate in their survival programs, and, turn their backs on them. If the establishment tries to come down hard on those businessmen who support the survival programs, then the community will recognize this as another form of oppression and will move to strongly defend their supporters. In that way the consciousness of the people and the level of the struggle will be advanced.

There is no salvation in capitalism, but through this new oppression, the

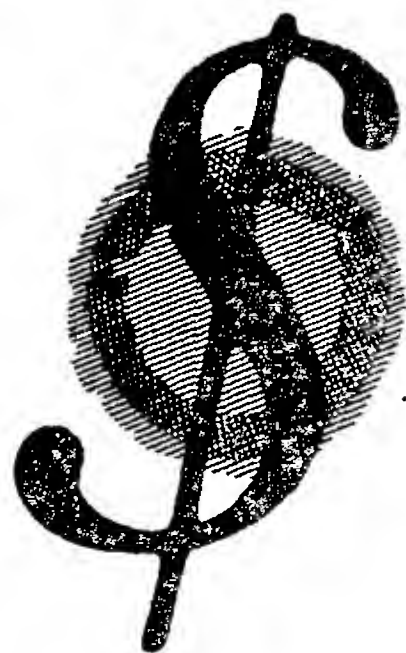


*Black capitalist will contribute to his own negation by helping to build a strong political vehicle which is guided by revolutionary concepts and serves as a vanguard for the people, serving their interests in their communities and advocating their interests before others. In a way our new position has the simplicity and completeness of a mathematical formula. When the Black capitalist contributes to the survival programs and makes a contribution to the community, the community will give him their support and thus strengthen his business. If he does not make any contribution to the survival of the community, the people will not support him and his enterprise will wither away because of his own negligence. By supporting the community, however, he will be helping to build the political machine which will eventually negate his exploitation of the community, but also negate his being exploited and victimized by corporate capitalism.*

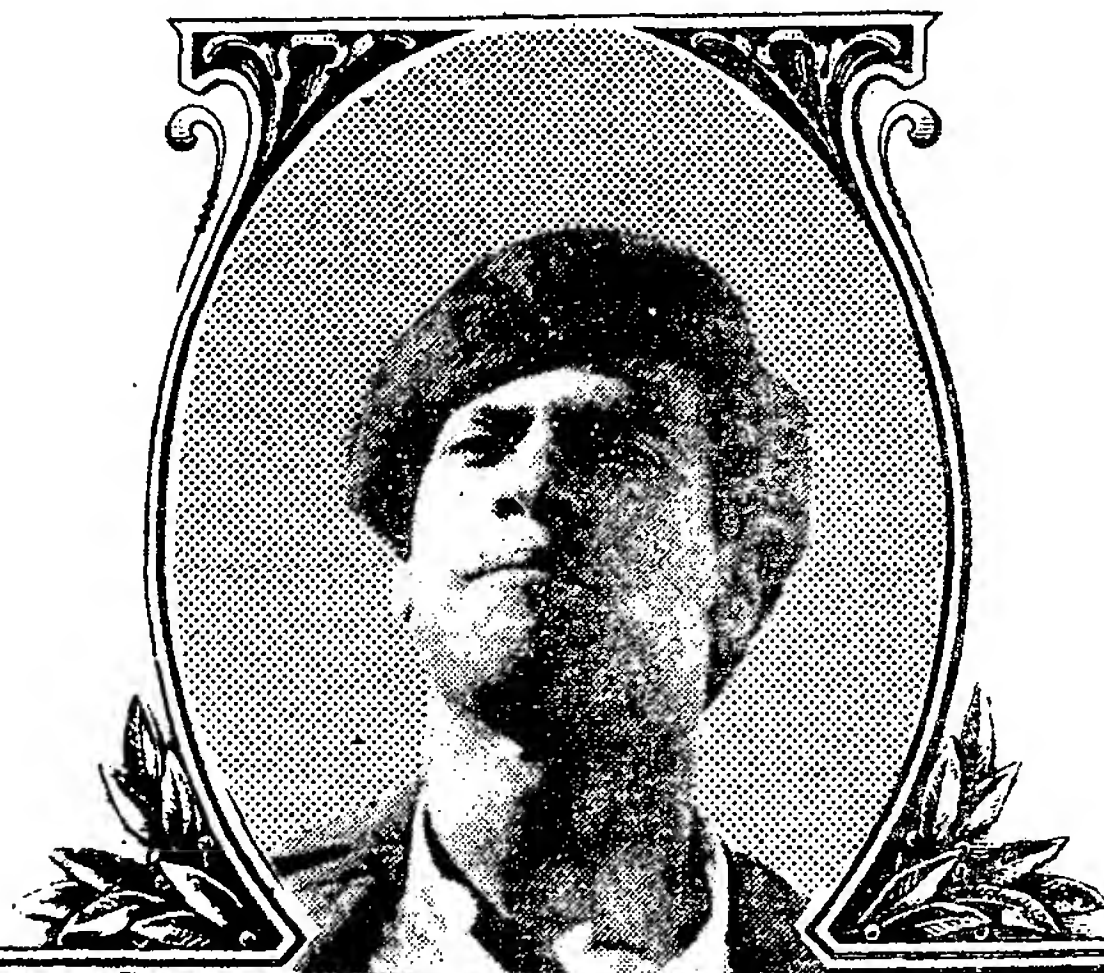
*So we will heighten the contradiction between the Black community and corporate capitalism, while at the same time reducing the contradiction between the Black capitalist and the Black community. In this way Black capitalism will be transformed from a relationship of exploitation of the community to a relationship of service to the community, which will contribute to the survival of everyone.*

**ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE**

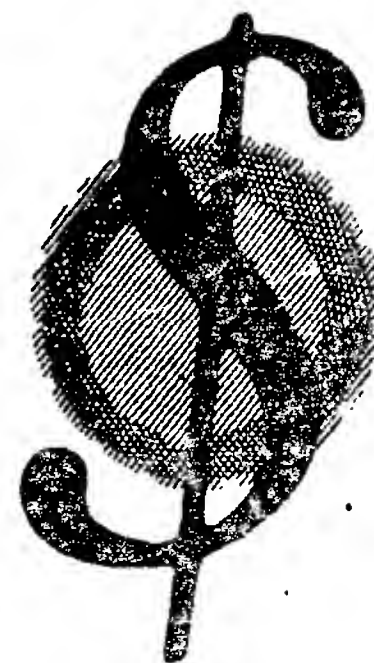
# BLACK CAPITALISM RE-ANALYZED



SERVE THE PEOPLE  
BODY AND SOUL



HUEY P. NEWTON



SERVE THE PEOPLE  
BODY AND SOUL



## HE WON'T BLEED ME

A REVOLUTIONARY ANALYSIS OF SWEET SWEETBACK'S BAADASSSSS SONG  
BY HUEY P. NEWTON, MINISTER OF DEFENSE, THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY,  
SERVANT OF THE PEOPLE WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY BOBBY SEALE,  
CHAIRMAN THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

The feeling that I have now that I am back on the scene with Brother Huey P. Newton is one where I remember the time when Brother Huey was always there to interpret the cultural things and symbolic forms and expressions of the people in different forms of art. This was over three and a half years ago, the last time Brother Huey and I were together.

Now that I am back on the scene I have had the chance to be with many righteous Party members and community people. Together we have shared the experience of going to the theatre to see "Sweet Sweetback" the latest movie on the set. Our Minister of Defense, righteous, beautiful Brother Huey P. Newton was there interpreting all the symbolic meanings of the movie, and showing the essence of the real-life experience of the Black community as it is put together in "Sweet Sweetback."

It seems that it has taken nothing more than the fact that Brother Huey P. Newton is free, and now I find myself free from Jail Number One and out in the larger social prison. But we are with our people in the Black community and Brother Huey P. Newton is now giving forth a profound in-depth analysis, a beautiful revolutionary people's analysis of "Sweet Sweetback." He is grasping for us the people all the symbolic meanings of the movie and explaining them to us.

When we have read the analysis given by Brother Huey we should unite as brothers and sisters in the struggle and go back and see "Sweet Sweetback" but not to be entertained, we should do it because we can be educated and our consciousness and understanding can be increased. I am going to see it again with Brother Huey's analysis as my guide. I hope you will too.

Bobby Seale

THE BLACK PANTHER SATURDAY JUNE 19, 1971

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DATE *6/26/87* BY *SP5C/LMS*

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The very popular movie produced and directed by Melvin Van Peebles called "Sweet Sweetback's Baadasssss Song" contains many very important messages for the entire Black community. On many levels Van Peebles is attempting to communicate some crucial ideas, and motivate us to a deeper understanding and then action based upon that understanding. He has certainly made effective use of one of the most popular forms of communication--the movie--and he is dealing in revolutionary terms. The only reason this movie is available to us with its many messages is because Black people have given it their highest support. The corporate capitalist would never let such an important message be given to the community if they were not so greedy. They are so anxious to bleed us for more profits that they either ignore or fail to recognize the many ideas in the film, but because we have supported the movie with our attendance we are able to receive its message.

It is the first truly revolutionary Black film made and it is presented to us by a Black man. Many Black people who have seen the film have missed many of its significant points. I have seen the film several times and I have also talked to about 50 - 60 others who have seen it and each time I understand more.

When Van Peebles first presented the film he refused to submit it to the Motion Picture Association to be rated because he knew they were not

competent to judge its content. He knew the film was not something which would upset the Black community because of its explicitness. He wanted youth and children to see it because he knew they would understand it. Yet the movie was given an "X" rating over his protests, thus making it impossible for the youth to see. But it has a real message for them, for just like "Moo Moo" one of the youthful characters in the movie, they are our future.

Melvin Van Peebles had great difficulty obtaining the funds to make this movie, therefore it is a low-budget movie. In some parts the sound and the lighting are not as good as they might have been if he could have had greater freedom to make the film. I have found that its messages and significance are clearer when I combine viewing the film with listening to the record of the sound track and reading the book. I would urge all of you who want to understand the deep meanings of the movie completely to also buy the record and the book. (NOTE: The book is available in paperback for \$1.00, and the record for \$5.98. Both may be obtained for \$6.00 by sending a check or money order to Lancer Books, 1560 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10036)

"Sweet Sweetback" blows my mind everytime I talk about it because it is so simple and yet so profound. It shows the robbery which takes place in the Black community and how we are the real victims. Then it shows how the victims must deal with their situation.